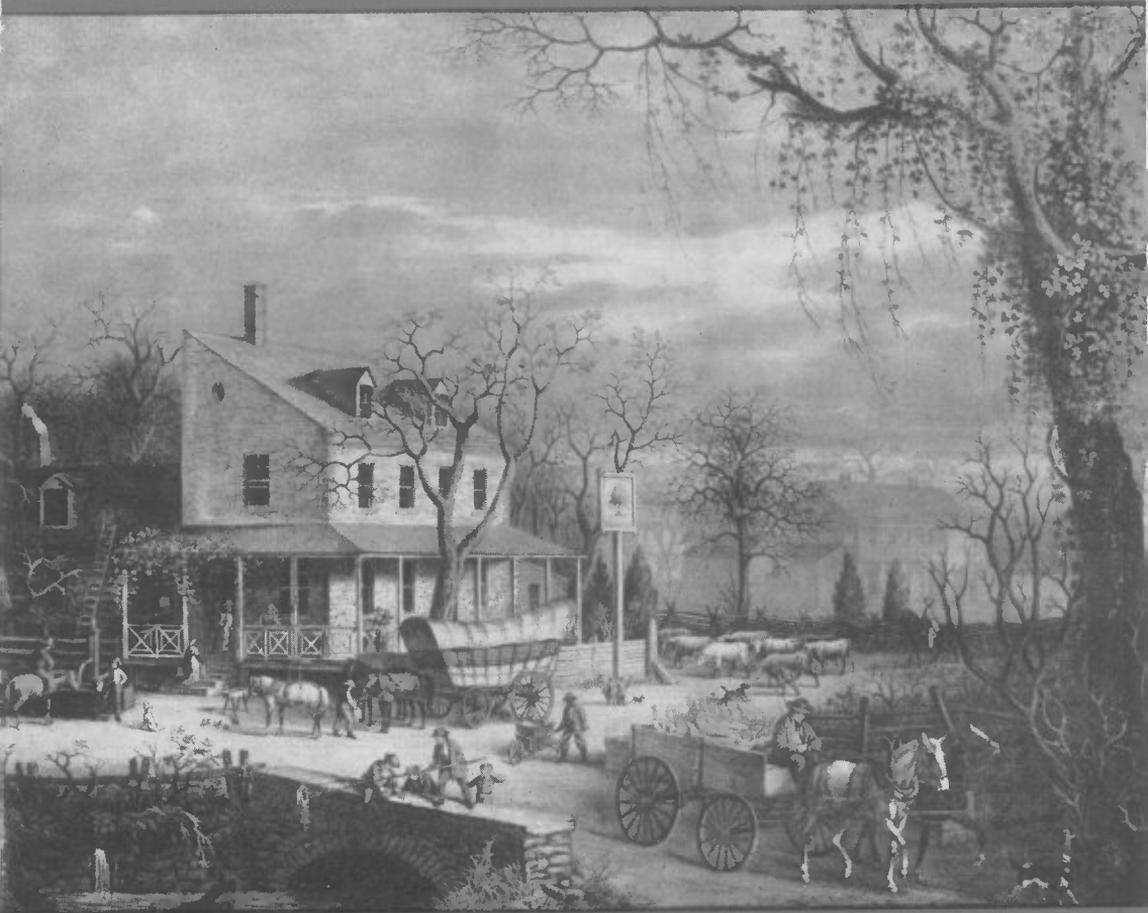


MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



American Scenery: The Inn of the Roadside.

Lithograph by E. Sachse and Co., Baltimore, 1872. (See p. 401)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

December · 1963

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THE WASHINGTON RACE WAR OF JULY, 1919

By LLOYD M. ABERNETHY

IN the history of the nation's capital, July, 1919, is widely remembered as the month that President Wilson returned from Paris and submitted the Peace Treaty of the "War for Democracy" to the United States Senate. It is ironic that the same month also witnessed the most serious racial conflict in the history of the District of Columbia. For four days, July 19-22, a full scale race war fed by the passions and prejudices of both whites and Negroes resisted the efforts of public authorities to restore order. This was not the first nor the only racial conflict in the violent year following the war. Before July 19, five race riots in scattered parts of the country had been reported by the *New York Times*.¹ The Washington riot,

¹ The riots occurred in New York City; Millen, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; Longview, Texas; and Bisbee, Arizona.

however, was the first of the year to capture nation-wide attention and arouse serious press and public concern for the state of our race relations. This concern was to increase sharply during the summer of 1919, for the Washington riot was followed closely by major disorders in Chicago, Knoxville, Omaha, and Elaine, Arkansas. Before the year ended, twenty-six American cities had been scarred by racial affrays, making 1919 one of the most tragic years in Negro-white relations in American history. While this study attempts to explain only the Washington race riot (or more accurately "race war"), the author hopes that it will suggest some clues to understanding the general pattern of race relations after the war.

I

The District of Columbia, in July, 1919, was still suffering from the effects of its extraordinary growth which began with America's entrance into the war in 1917. A large number of workers, many of whom were from the South, had migrated to Washington to assume temporary jobs created by the government in expanding its operations to meet wartime needs. The total population had jumped from 359,997 in 1916 to 455,428 in 1919, an average increase of over 32,000 per year for the period compared to the yearly average of one to two thousand before the war.² Most (79,942) of the new residents were white and represented an increase of thirty per cent over the 1916 white population. During the same period many Negroes, generally discontented with their lot in the South, were drawn to the North by the promise of fairer treatment and better-paying jobs.³ About 15,000 of them made their way to Washington, increasing the Negro population by fifteen per cent. In 1919, there were 340,796 whites and 114,632 Negroes in Washington, or approximately three whites for every Negro.⁴

The capital in 1917 was not equipped physically to handle the heavy influx of workers nor was it able to remedy its defi-

² U. S., House of Representatives, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, 1916-1919*.

³ See Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, 1918), 167-92, and Louise V. Kennedy, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward* (New York, 1930), pp. 41-58.

⁴ A. H. Shannon, *The Negro in Washington* (New York, 1930), p. 20.

ciencies, let alone keep up with new demands for services, as the war months passed. Its facilities for transportation, entertainment, and telephone service as well as its hotels, restaurants, and private housing were all crowded and overworked.⁵ According to one observer, there was a shortage of everything "except incompetent people," and the only places "not absolutely congested" were the churches.⁶ Forced to wait in lines to eat meals, to board streetcars, to see movies, and even to brush his teeth in some instances, the Washington war worker led a "hurry-up-and-wait" existence. The harried competitive environment became even more intolerable to many white workers when they found themselves competing with Negroes for many advantages.

The temporary war workers were not alone in resenting the presence of Negroes in the crowded environment. Notwithstanding the fact that the latter comprised only one quarter of the population, many native Washingtonians believed that their city was being overrun with Negroes. This attitude was particularly obvious in the matter of private housing. Formerly Negroes had been unofficially restricted to a "black belt" in the southwest section of Washington. With the rapid expansion of their numbers during the war, however, they began to spread into other residential areas, particularly the northwestern part of the city. Prior to 1919 their overflow into white residential sections had produced no major conflict, but it had caused a great deal of friction and was a constant source of resentment between the two races.⁷

Washington's unsettled atmosphere was complicated further in the late spring and early summer of 1919 by the introduction of a new unstable element. Hundreds of servicemen who had been discharged from nearby military camps came to Washington to find jobs.⁸ Although no jobs were immediately available and the prospects were not good (since the government was beginning to dismantle its wartime agen-

⁵ *New York Times*, April 20, 1919; "Living in War-swollen Washington is a Serious Problem," *Literary Digest* (April 27, 1918), pp. 53-56.

⁶ Harrison Rhodes, "War-time Washington," *Harper's Magazine*, CXXXVI (March, 1918), 465-77.

⁷ See William H. Jones, *The Housing of Negroes in Washington, D. C.* (Washington, 1929), pp. 58-59.

⁸ *Washington Times*, July 17, 18, 1919.

cies), many of the men preferred to stay in the city rather than return to their former homes. In addition, there were many Washington men being discharged and returned to their homes in the District.⁹ They, too, were unable to find jobs immediately and soon joined their former comrades in the streets and the near-beer saloons to joke, play cards, and trade grievances. Thus, a formidable body of young men—many still in uniform, unemployed and resentful of the employed, particularly if they were colored, restless and full of energy—were eager for excitement wherever it might be found.

II

For months prior to July, 1919, reports of crime—and particularly Negro crime—had come to occupy an increasing amount of news space in Washington papers.¹⁰ There was some justification for the rise in total crime reporting; the crime rate in the District of Columbia had risen steadily since 1917 (see chart below).¹¹ But the increase, when due consideration is given to the enormous population gains in the District during the same period, was not spectacular. Nor was Washington's increase in crime unique; most other major American cities reported a similar increase for the war period. Yet the local *Herald* persisted in calling Washington "the most lawless city in the union"—a title it hardly deserved.

There was less justification for the increased emphasis on Negro crime. The crime rate for Negroes was more than double that for whites, but up to and including 1919 they were responsible for less than half of the total crimes committed each year. More important is the fact that there had been

⁹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1919.

¹⁰ Herbert J. Seligmann, "What is Behind the Negro Uprisings?" *Current Opinion*, LXVII (September, 1919), 155; "Our Own Subject Race Rebels," *Literary Digest* (August 2, 1919), 25.

¹¹ Crime in the District of Columbia.

Year	Total Arrests	% White	% Colored	% Convictions
1919	53,365	57.57	42.43	93.37
1918	43,245	59.25	40.75	93.45
1917	39,562	58.28	41.72	93.38
1916	39,377	54.50	45.50	91.77

This table is based on data contained in the *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, 1919*, pp. 188-89.

practically no increase (the 1919 rate was less than two per cent higher than in 1918, less than one per cent higher than 1917, and three per cent lower than in 1916) in the per cent of Negroes arrested for crimes. Since the percentage of total convictions (see table n. 11) had remained constant since 1917, and because there was no reason to suspect a revolutionary change in the percentage of Negro convictions, it is apparent that while crime had increased in Washington in 1919 the percentage of crime attributed to the Negro remained practically stable. According to the statistics of the Washington Police Department, Negro crime did not deserve the greater or an increased share of publicity. Nevertheless, the Washington papers, published for a predominately white audience, seemed unconcerned about the impressions of the Negroes conveyed by their reporting.

In late June and early July, several Negro assaults on white women provided the capital's newspapers with sensational headlines for weeks. The *Washington Herald* ran front page stories on "crimes against women" and "Negro fiends" for thirteen of the first seventeen days of July. The *Times* carried fewer stories but surpassed the *Herald* in sensationalism. The *Post* and *Evening Star*, commonly acknowledged to be the most sober of Washington newspapers, published articles on Negro crime almost daily. Most of the incidents reported were exaggerated; others—recited to police or reporters by frightened and excited women—proved to be completely groundless upon investigation. Records of the Washington Police Department, furnished later by its chief, showed three attempted assaults and one case of rape in the District of Columbia for the month preceding July 19. One man—who, ironically, had been apprehended before the nineteenth—was suspected of three of the four assaults.¹² In contiguous Maryland, one assault was reported in the first nineteen days of July. However, because of the newspaper articles, a large segment of the white population was convinced that a Negro

¹² Herbert J. Seligmann, "Race War?" *New Republic* (August 13, 1919), 49; Glenn Frank, "The Clash of Color, the Negro in American Democracy," *Century*, XCIX (November, 1919), 87. A Negro newspaper, the *New York Age*, reported that the first woman assaulted was a colored school teacher. July 26, 1919.

“crime wave” was abroad. On July 2, the Columbia Heights Citizens Association threatened to hold a “lynching bee” unless the crimes were halted.¹³ On the night of July 8, thirty white men almost lynched a Negro before he was able to convince them that he was not guilty of assaulting white women.¹⁴

Under the pressure of public opinion the Washington police conducted a large scale search for Negro suspects. In a number of cases they were overly zealous in their efforts; they invaded Negro homes without search warrants and indiscriminately rounded up hundreds of innocent Negroes for questioning.¹⁵ The Negroes were both alarmed and infuriated. Already basically suspicious of white policemen, they were convinced by these incidents that they could not expect fair treatment or protection from the police department.

By July 9, the state of public opinion appeared so dangerous to the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that its director wrote to the four leading Washington newspapers calling the attention of the editors to the explosiveness of the situation. He predicted that race riots might result unless the papers moderated their reporting of Negro crime.¹⁶ Of the four newspapers, only the *Evening Star* acknowledged the justice of this warning. The *Herald* mentioned the possibility of violence: “Trouble seems to be brewing in Washington, and, although the police laugh at the possibility of racial affrays, extra precautions are being taken in territory largely settled by colored people.”¹⁷ Apparently, however, none of the major newspapers took any definite action to ease the growing tension between the whites and the Negroes.

On July 12, the local Negro newspaper—sensing impending disaster—voiced the hope that all Negroes would not be held responsible for the crimes of individual colored men:

The *Bee* takes this opportunity to say to the people in this city that colored citizens are as much in favor of bringing these violators of the law to justice as any other class of American citizens.

¹³ *Washington Post*, July 2, 1919.

¹⁴ *Washington Herald*, July 9, 1919.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1919.

¹⁶ Seligmann, *Current Opinion*, LXVII, 155.

¹⁷ July 10, 1919.

The *Bee* hopes that the recent crimes committed will not militate in the least against the law-abiding citizens in the community. Any man who outrages the honor of a female should be severely punished.¹⁸

III

Shortly after ten o'clock on the night of July 18, a young white woman—on the way home from her job at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving—was approached and jostled by two Negroes as she walked along Twelfth Street in southwest Washington. When she screamed the Negroes fled and managed to escape the pursuit of several white men who were near the scene of the incident. By the next day, Saturday, the news of this latest "outrage" was widespread. The *Post* carried the story in an article entitled "Negroes Attack Girl."¹⁹ Rewards totaling more than \$2000 were raised by private subscription for the arrest of the assailants.²⁰ The chief of police issued orders for policemen to question all young men, white or colored, found loitering anywhere after nightfall.²¹ But even with these precautions neither the police nor the Negroes appeared prepared for what followed.

The streets of Washington were more crowded than usual on Saturday night. Added to the civilian workers and the transient ex-servicemen were hundreds of soldiers, sailors, and Marines on leave or pass from nearby military installations. Early in the evening a report was circulated among the servicemen that a sailor's wife had been attacked by a Negro.²² Incensed by what appeared to be a serious wrong to a fellow serviceman, some of the young men determined to seek revenge. Soon (it is not known who started it or where it began) the word was being passed around for all servicemen to meet at the Knights of Columbus Hut at Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. From there a group of several hundred

¹⁸ *Washington Bee*, July 12, 1919.

¹⁹ *Washington Post*, July 19, 1919. Also, see varied accounts in the *Evening Star* (Washington), July 19, 1919; *New York Times*, July 21, 1919; and the *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

²⁰ *New York Times*, July 20, 1919.

²¹ *Washington Post*, July 19, 1919.

²² *Evening Star* (Washington), July 20, 1919. The rumor about "a sailor's wife" probably originated with the *Evening Star's* account (July 19, 1919) of the Friday night assault in which the woman was said to be the wife of a Naval aviator. Actually her husband was a civilian employee in the Naval Aviation Department. *New York Times*, July 21, 1919; *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

men, who were joined by other servicemen and civilians as they moved along, set out for the colored district intent on beating a suspect of the recent assaults on white women who had been released by the police. Before the police became aware of what was taking place and initiated action to disperse the mob, two Negroes had been seriously beaten with clubs and lead pipes and several others injured.²³ The mob's action was shortlived but before morning its effect had aroused tension and fear in every corner of the colored section. In the early hours of the morning a policeman was shot and gravely wounded when he challenged a frightened Negro in southwest Washington.²⁴

The next day was a typical summer Sunday in Washington—quiet, hot, and humid. The police were more alert than usual and it appeared that the riot had been nothing more than a minor Saturday night incident. Shortly after ten o'clock Sunday night, however, groups of whites—composed of both servicemen and civilians as on the previous night—began attacking individual Negroes on Pennsylvania Avenue between Seventh Street and the Treasury Building.²⁵ Three Negroes were sent to the Emergency Hospital from Seventh Street. Later, three Negroes were beaten by Marines and soldiers at Fifteenth Street and New York Avenue in northwest Washington. On G street a young Negro was dragged from a street-car, beaten and chased by a mob for several blocks before he escaped.²⁶ In front of the Riggs Bank the rioters beat a Negro with clubs and stones wrapped in handkerchiefs; the bleeding figure lay in the street for over twenty minutes before being taken to the hospital.²⁷

Sensing the failure of the police, the mob became even more contemptuous of authority—two Negroes were attacked and beaten directly in front of the White House. At one A.M. police headquarters received a riot call from Ninth Street and New York Avenue where between 200 and 250 servicemen and civilians were attacking Negroes. Five minutes later another

²³ *Washington Herald*, July 20, 1919; *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

²⁴ *Washington Times*, July 20, 1919.

²⁵ *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919; "Racial Tensions and Race Riots," *The Outlook* (August 6, 1919), 533.

²⁶ *New York Times*, July 21, 1919.

²⁷ *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

riot call came from Tenth and L Streets in northwest Washington. Shortly thereafter, it was reported that soldiers had attacked Negroes near the American League baseball park.²⁸ Another incident occurred near Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue when a policeman attempting to arrest a soldier was threatened by a mob; he managed to hold his prisoner, however, until reinforcements arrived.²⁹

By three A.M. the city had begun to quiet down. To prevent other outbreaks the police reserves remained on duty throughout the night to bolster the regular patrolmen. The toll for the night included fifteen Negroes with serious injuries who had been taken to the Emergency Hospital; many others—bruised, bleeding, and frightened—received first aid treatment at police headquarters.³⁰ That there were no deaths was probably due to the fact that the rioters had employed few weapons; for the most part they had resorted to their fists.

By Monday morning, the extent and seriousness of the riots had stirred Washington officials into action. Louis Brownlow, Chairman of the District Commissioners, and the Chief of the Washington Police Department conferred with Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Army Chief of Staff General Peyton C. March.³¹ As a result the Provost Guard, which had been removed from the streets on June 15 as a demobilization measure, was restored to supplement the city police. Secretary Baker issued a statement deploring the participation of soldiers in the riots and explaining that the War Department had no jurisdiction over the large number of discharged men still in uniform in Washington. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, issued orders to the Naval Commander in the District to report all names of sailors or Marines who might have taken part in the riots.³² Commissioner Brownlow made a general appeal for order. "The actions of the men who attacked innocent Negroes cannot be too strongly condemned," he said, "and it is the duty of every citizen to express his sup-

²⁸ *New York Times*, July 21, 1919.

²⁹ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

³⁰ One police official who witnessed the fighting estimated that at least 100 persons suffered injuries of a minor character, *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919.

³¹ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

³² *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919.

port of law and order by refraining from any inciting conversation or the repetition of inciting rumor and tales."³³ For the Negroes, the NAACP sent a direct protest to President Wilson which condemned mob violence and urged the enforcement of order.³⁴

At the same time preliminary preventive measures were being taken, however, more active efforts were underway to intensify the disorder. The front page of the Monday morning edition of the *Washington Post* carried the following statement under the subtitle "Mobilization for Tonight":

It was learned that a mobilization of every available serviceman stationed in or near Washington or on leave here has been ordered for tomorrow evening near the Knights of Columbus hut; on Pennsylvania Avenue between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

The hour of assembly is 9 o'clock and the purpose is a 'clean-up' that will cause the events of the last two evenings to pale into insignificance.

Whether official cognizance of this assemblage and its intent will bring about its forestalling cannot be told.³⁵

Faced by such open threats as this and convinced after two nights of uncontrolled rioting that the Washington police could not or would not protect them from the mobs, many Negroes began to arm themselves.³⁶ According to the Negro newspaper, the *New York Age*, some Negroes sought to defend their homes and themselves while others armed to strike back at the whites. Pawnshops and other dealers in the District did a thriving business in guns and ammunition, selling second-hand pistols for as much as fifty dollars apiece. The Washington police later estimated that more than 500 guns were sold in the District on Monday.³⁷ One Washington correspondent reported that Negroes placed three machine guns with hundreds of rounds of ammunition and hand grenades in "high powered cars" for attacks on the white population.³⁸

³³ Quoted in the *New York Age*, July 26, 1919.

³⁴ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919.

³⁵ July 21, 1919.

³⁶ Seligmann, *Current Opinion*, LXVII, 155; Editorial, *New Republic* (August 6, 1919), p. 1.

³⁷ *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919; *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

³⁸ *New York Age*, August 2, 1919. Even if the Negroes did possess machine guns and hand grenades there is no evidence that they used them during the riots.

The retaliatory spirit of the Negroes was first demonstrated at eleven o'clock on Monday morning. Four Negroes fired eight shots from a speeding car at a white sentry and several patients in front of the Naval Hospital in Georgetown.³⁹ Fortunately no one was injured and the car with its occupants was captured later in the afternoon. On Monday night, rioting broke out again in northwest Washington between Seventh and Ninth Streets and along Pennsylvania Avenue. The police and the Provost Guard managed to restrict the main white mob to the downtown area but they found it impossible to keep the streets clear elsewhere. The fighting, however, took a different turn from the previous nights—the whites fared as badly or worse than the Negroes. Early in the evening a white Marine was shot and stabbed by a Negro near the White House.⁴⁰ At the corner of Fourth and N Streets a crowd of Negroes attacked a streetcar. At Seventh and F Streets a Negro fired into a crowd from the rear of a truck; he was killed when a detective returned the fire.⁴¹ Another Negro emptied his revolver into a crowded streetcar at Seventh and G Streets, wounding a white man and a thirteen-year-old boy. A policeman fired five bullets into the Negro who somehow survived to be taken to the hospital.⁴²

At Ball's Alley in northwest Washington, a young Negro woman shot and killed a detective who had entered her home to investigate a report of shooting in the area. Another detective was seriously wounded by the same girl.⁴³ In front of the Carnegie Library a young Negro boy was knocked off his bicycle by a mob of whites. Cries of "Lynch him!" and "Who's got the rope?" were heard but police rescued him before the threats could be carried out.⁴⁴

Towards midnight, some of the Negroes organized and assigned bands of raiders to automobiles stocked with guns

³⁹ *Washington Times*, July 22, 1919; *Evening Star* (Washington), July 21, 1919.

⁴⁰ *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919. The Marine died two days later. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1919.

⁴¹ *The World* (New York), July 22, 1919.

⁴² *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

⁴³ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919. *Evening Star* (Washington), July 22, 1919. For quite different accounts of this incident, see *New York Age*, July 26, 1919, and a pamphlet by Edgar M. Grey, *The Washington Riot: Its Cause and Effect* (New York: By the Author, n. d.), p. 2.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*, July 22, 1919.

and ammunition. About 1:30 A.M., one of these cars—manned by two Negro men and three women—sped through the streets of Washington firing at every white person they saw. They wounded a policeman, a soldier and several other people before the driver was killed and the car captured. Sporadic attacks by Negroes continued throughout most of the night. By morning the toll included four dead, one dying, five seriously wounded, forty-one admitted to the Emergency Hospital, and dozens less seriously injured.⁴⁵

Many illegally armed Negroes were brought into police headquarters during the night. On Tuesday's court docket there were more than fifty charges of carrying concealed weapons and twice as many charges of disorderly conduct.⁴⁶ During the day sixty-five persons, most of whom were Negroes, were convicted of disorderly conduct and fined twenty-five dollars or sentenced to twenty-five days in jail.⁴⁷

Congress took its first official cognizance of the breakdown of law and order in Washington on Tuesday. Three measures were introduced in the House of Representatives to deal with the emergency but they offered no immediate relief.⁴⁸ Of more importance were the actions of the executive branch. After a conference with President Wilson on Tuesday afternoon, the Secretary of War announced that Major William G. Hahn, head of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, had been designated commander of a special guard of soldiers, sailors, and Marines detailed to assist Washington police.⁴⁹ By night-fall, more than a thousand troops had been brought into the city from Camp Meade, Quantico, and several ships anchored in the Potomac. Armed with pistols and machine guns, one-third of the troops patrolled the streets with the police while the others remained on duty in the police stations to handle emergency calls.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919.

⁴⁶ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 22, 1919.

⁴⁷ *Washington Post*, July, 23, 1919.

⁴⁸ Rep. Clark (Florida) asked for an investigation into the prevalence of crime in Washington. Reps. Vaile (Colorado) and Emerson (Ohio) called for the establishment of martial law by the President. Rep. Hill (New York) asked for a restriction on the sale of firearms in the District, *The World* (New York), July 23, 1919.

⁴⁹ *Washington Herald*, July 24, 1919.

⁵⁰ *Washington Post*, July 23, 1919.

Small groups of whites and blacks clashed in the northwestern part of the city during the day but there was no general disturbance until after nightfall. When darkness came there were noticeably fewer Negroes on the streets than on previous nights. Evidently they had followed the advice of policemen who had circulated through the Negro sections during the afternoon advising Negroes to keep off the streets. Nevertheless, observers reported that throughout the city there was the same sense of suppressed excitement and tension which had existed on Sunday and Monday nights. One reporter, who visited the Negro section on Tuesday night, said that the Negroes were obsessed with fear and dread lest "a new East St. Louis" was at hand. But, even though they were frightened—the reporter noted—they were also determined to barricade themselves in their homes and fight back should a mob come.⁵¹

Shortly after ten o'clock, two white Home Guard officers approached a Negro at Ninth and M Streets ostensibly to question him. The Negro drew a revolver, shot and killed one officer and gravely wounded his companion. Before a crowd could gather the assailant had escaped.⁵² Another incident occurred on L Street when two Negroes leaped from a buggy and attacked a white youth who managed to escape without serious injury. In mid-town, a large group of whites (estimated at more than 2,000) gathered and started towards the Negro section, but before they could reach their objective they were dispersed by mounted troops and a heavy downpour of rain. The rain continued sporadically throughout the night and greatly assisted the police in breaking up other attempts to form mobs.⁵³ Small scattered clashes and many false alarms from nervous citizens kept the police occupied but by midnight the situation appeared to be under control. Only one Negro was admitted to the Emergency Hospital during the night.

⁵¹ "The Washington Riots," *The Nation* (August 9, 1919), 173. In the riot at East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917 at least thirty-nine Negroes and eight white people were killed outright and hundreds of Negroes were wounded or maimed. See U. S., House of Representatives, *Riot at East St. Louis, Report of the Special Committee Authorized by Congress to Investigate the East St. Louis Riots*, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1918, House Doc. 1231.

⁵² *Washington Post*, July 23, 1919.

⁵³ *Evening Star* (Washington), July 23, 1919.

The next day billiard rooms, movie houses, and near-beer saloons in the districts where most of the rioting had occurred were closed. A few isolated incidents took place later in the week but the presence of a large number of troops and the consistent vigilance of the police discouraged any further attempts at serious rioting. After four days, the riot had been successfully put down but not until six people had been killed and a large number injured.

IV

It seems clear that the precipitating cause of the Washington riot was the "attack" upon the white woman on July 18. But it is equally as obvious that this incident would not have set off the riot had not conditions in Washington been ripe for it. The lack of restraint in reporting Negro crime exhibited by the Washington press; the background of Negro-white friction which prepared the whites to believe the worst about the Negroes and to condone efforts to "put the Negro in his place"; and the presence of a large group of irresponsible young men, susceptible to rumor and prone to rash action, who confused all Negroes with criminals; these were the principal causes leading to the outbreak of violence. However, despite the guilt of white people in initiating the riot, the extent and seriousness of the disorder must be attributed to another source. Until the third day—when the Negroes began fighting back—violence had been restricted to the fist-and-club stage and no one had been killed. It seems safe to say that probably no one would have been killed, the riot would have ended sooner, and it would have gone down as a minor affray had the Negroes not resisted the whites.

Even though the violence was deplorable it cannot be denied, however, that Washington Negroes were justified in making the riot a bilateral "war." They were attacked and were convinced, by the events leading up to the attacks and the failure of the Washington police to stop them, that they had no defense but themselves. The one great failure of the police was that they did not have the confidence of the colored people and did not make any pronounced effort to assure them of security either before or during the riot. However, the

significance of the Washington riot is not that the Negro was left to his own defenses but that he did not run away and hide as he had on previous occasions; for the first time he fought back at his persecutors.

While many of the Negro attackers were of the vagrant element—"poolroom hangers-on and men from the alleys and side streets"—the attitude of "fighting back" was widespread among Negroes in Washington.⁵⁴ "During the riot," stated one Washington Negro, "I went home when through with my work and stayed there, but I prepared to protect my home. I am as law-abiding as anybody, but I believe I must protect my home and myself when necessary. If a Negro had nothing but a fire poker when set upon, he should use it to protect his home. I believe all the men in my block felt the same way."⁵⁵ Another Negro said: "We are tired of being picked on and being beat up. We have been through war and gave everything, even our lives, and now we are going to stop being beat up."⁵⁶ The *Washington Bee* summed up the general attitude by saying, "The black man is loyal to his country and to his flag, and when his country fails to protect him, he means to protect himself."⁵⁷

These statements and the actions of Washington Negroes suggest that their attitude was more than a local phenomenon and that it fundamentally reflected the profound impact of the war experience on Negroes in general. Washington Negroes along with their brothers and sisters throughout the country played a significant role in the total war effort. They served in the armed forces, many saw combat, and some died in battle. Those sent overseas discovered social equality for the first time among the French, an experience they did not soon forget. At home, Negroes purchased Liberty Bonds, contributed to the Red Cross, saved food, and generally worked as heartily as white people to bring an end to the conflict.⁵⁸ The men found better grades of employment; some worked at wage-earning jobs for the first time. Many women came out of the

⁵⁴ *New York Age*, August 2, 1919.

⁵⁵ Quoted in George E. Haynes, "What Negroes Think of the Race Riots," *The Public* (August 9, 1919), 848.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ August 2, 1919.

⁵⁸ See Emmett J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War* (Washing-

kitchens of the whites and found better pay, shorter hours, and less menial work in jobs as elevator operators and office cleaning women.⁵⁹ Negroes had more money, they dressed better, they took more pride in themselves and began doing some thinking and speaking for themselves.⁶⁰

Encouraged by the idealistic goals of the war effort, Negroes had hopes for a better future for themselves. In fact, in many ways by many people—government officials, race leaders, and newspaper editors—they were promised a new era. In an interview with a Negro leader in March, 1919, President Wilson said:

I have always known that the Negro has been unjustly and unfairly dealt with. Your people have exhibited a degree of loyalty and patriotism that should command the admiration of the whole nation. In the present conflict your race has rallied to the nation's call, and if there has been any evidence of slackerism by Negroes, the same has not reached Washington. Great principles of righteousness are won by slow degrees. With thousands of your sons in the camps in France, out of this conflict you must expect nothing but full citizenship rights—the same as are enjoyed by all other citizens.⁶¹

The Negro emerged from the war experience with a new conception of himself and his relation to democracy. "Out of this war," wrote the editor of the *Washington Bee* on April 26, 1919, "the Negro expects—he demands—justice, and can not and will not be content with less . . . Our men were not afraid to die, even when three thousand miles from home, and they will not be afraid to die for democracy here at home if it is much longer refused them." The race war in Washington was an open declaration of the Negro's new attitude. No longer would he submit to being chased and beaten without a vigorous protest. It was also a warning of what was to be expected and what was to come in the racial affrays that followed in 1919.

ton, 1919); George E. Haynes, "Race Riots in Relation to Democracy," *Survey* (August 9, 1919), 698.

⁵⁹ George E. Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction* (Washington, 1921); *New York Times*, March 16, 1919.

⁶⁰ Frank, *Century*, XCIX, 90.

⁶¹ Quoted in J. G. Robinson, *Why I Am an Exile* (n.p., n.d.), p. 3, copy in Schomberg collection of New York Public Library.

THE STATE AND DISSENTERS IN THE REVOLUTION

By THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY, S. J.

IT would be an oversimplification to say that there was merely the appearance of conscience as Americans revolted against the mother country. Their appeal to natural right has been ascribed to rationalization of unrighteous conduct. Yet the continual preoccupation of important Americans with the rightness or wrongness of their actions at the various stages of the Revolution shows that conscience was prompting. Sincerity is not easily tested. Rather than decide this matter, it is better to continue with the reconstruction of the complexity of the human situation which was the American Revolution in its moral dimension. There are some smaller, more manageable aspects of this larger question worth pursuing.

The current state of scholarship points to one clear area where conscience was very much alive during the Revolution. Such pacifists as the Quakers provide the more striking instances. Others had a much more complex adjustment of principles to make. There were pacifists among Methodists, but in addition they were of a church united with the English state. Not merely the rightness or wrongness of war, then, but the guilt or innocence involved in severance of that state and its church. In this latter dilemma was found the distress of other members of the Church of England, in addition to Methodists.

Whether the majority of Marylanders, who were Anglicans, were deeply distressed in conscience over this exact point is not certain. The political feature of Toryism probably played a more important role in the decision of the average opponent of the Revolution. Among the clergy, however, the religious and moral distress was most pronounced, and it is their writings and actions which dramatize the struggles of conscience.

All of this is not to say that those who found no problem in accepting the Revolution were bereft of social conscience.

Writings of their clergy show they were conscientious. Presbyterian and Roman Catholic morality of war and politics provided immediate justification of the Revolution. Theory regarding the nature of the church stood in the way of neither. But the conscience of the Revolution does not stand so significantly revealed here as in the religious dissenters or the doubtful.

While the State had made its own decision, how did it deal with those who had not or who had dissented for religious reasons? Was security of state used conscientiously as a consideration in dealing with the open dissenter? The action of the state in these matters would deeply affect the freedom with which men in good conscience took up or rejected the cause of Revolution. The action of the state could thus create an amoral social movement and to that extent an inhuman one.

There is evidence indeed that many were deprived of their civil liberties during the American Revolution. Maryland had its own instances. A closer examination, however, will bring out the other side of this picture. The state is found possessed of a reasonable delicacy of conscience in dealing with religious doubters and the dissenters. The conscience of the Revolution then is under scrutiny insofar as the new state is the agent of the Revolution.

Those responsible for law and order had a most complex task in assuring the rights of conscientious dissenters. It was for them, as William Eddis put it, "to stem the torrent excited by factious artifices." At the other extreme were those who would use religion's privileges for Tory purposes. Even those who innocently followed their own lights might through imprudence jeopardize the safety of the state at war with England. Yet the Tory Eddis put his hope in "many respectable characters," with whom this difficult business rested. "Considering the complexion of the times," he concluded optimistically, "their proceedings have been regular and moderate."¹

Maryland governmental records make it clear that the state understood its difficult position. In Article 4 of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, members had to state the major assumption of any revolutionary government, con-

¹ William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777, Inclusive* (London, 1792), pp. 210-12.

trary as it was to the religious views of many dissenters: "The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."² The Constitution, however, generously sought to protect clergymen and religious dissenters.³ They could not in conscience accept this statement which satisfied the conscience of the state. In view of the strong position taken by the state, self-discipline was required in interpreting the cases of clergy and dissenters, if the state would be conscientious.

The Council and various officials found these duties extremely difficult. General William Smallwood experienced the military official's problem. He found many on the Eastern Shore of Maryland who pleaded that religion and not politics led them to be disaffected toward the Maryland revolutionary government. They thus felt obliged to aid the British. "Tho[ugh] there are some exceptions," Smallwood explained in one report, "wherein Ignorant men from their Religious Attachments have been deluded (those are readily distinguished & to be pittied) yet by far the greater number conceal their true motives, & make Religion a Cloak for their nefarious designs."⁴ William Paca, the same year and in the same area, told of two clergymen who exemplified Smallwood's contention. His patience was tried in dealing with them. "If in the Heat of Zeal," he wrote to Governor Thomas Johnson, "I may advise any Extremity out of the straight Line of the Law for [of] our Constitution I hope I shall be excused: as to Extremities from necessity they will need no Apology or Justification."⁵

The Assembly earnestly tried to deal with these difficult situations while safeguarding freedom. For only in this way would the conscience of the Revolution be truly free. As early

² Maryland, *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held at Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, & 1776* (Annapolis, 1836), p. 297 (hereafter *Proceedings of the Convention*).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 375; November 11, 1776. One Nathan Perigo, for example, was said to be pretending to be a clergyman in order to avoid paying a substitute tax for military service.

⁴ March 14, 1777, Snow Hill; William H. Browne, et al. (eds.), *Archives of Maryland* (68 vols.; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), XVI, 176.

⁵ August 25, 1777, Cecil Court House; *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 345. Paca described one Methodist preacher, John Patterson, as the "most provoking [] exasperating mortal that ever existed" (pp. 364-65).

as 1775 the right of religious dissenters was established. The Maryland lawmakers stated that the citizen had an obligation to defend his country and to bear arms. "Clergymen of all denominations," they hastened to add, "and such persons who from their religious principles cannot bear arms in any case [are] excepted. . . ." ⁶ During the war period, records of the state government show many instances where higher officials sent directives to lower ones, restraining them from action against dissenters. Often lower officials would refer the more difficult cases of conscientious objectors to their superiors. ⁷

Minutes of the Kent Monthly Meeting of Quakers gave evidence of the Assembly's success with laws which favored the free exercise of conscience. The period following 1776 does not reveal many instances where Quakers were refused the benefit of those laws which protected pacifists. ⁸ Their practice of actively encouraging others to pacifism could often have passed for obstruction of national defense. Officials reported little difficulty in this respect. Many Quakers refused to pay for substitutes in the militia as the law sometimes required. But nearly a year passed before the minutes make mention of any trouble from the state government over such matters. ⁹ Confiscations were often made by the state governments when Quakers failed to pay for substitutes in the militia. The Quaker fund in Maryland to help those so penalized was not drawn on very heavily, which indicates the mild effect of the law there. ¹⁰ All of these observations are drawn from the Eastern Shore, where the government would incline to be stricter in view of the greater danger there of collaboration with the English. Treatment must have been more lenient on the Western Shore where there was less danger.

Methodists, who had pacifists among them, had experiences with the Maryland Government similar to those of Quakers. The distinguished Thomas Coke, and other Methodist preachers, in some of their writings might tend to give a contrary

⁶ Proceedings of the Convention, pp. 19-20. See also *ibid.*, p. 74, where a year later this provision was reiterated, widened, and special place given to the Royal Governor Eden and his household.

⁷ See, for example, the *Proceedings of the Council of Safety*, March 1, 1777 and March 13, 1778, *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 156 and 535.

⁸ December 10, 1777, Minutes (Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.).

⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1777.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1785.

impression.¹¹ In context their remarks do not add up to a case of intolerance against the state government. Such writers did not distinguish among the Methodist sufferers whom they record. Rank Torism and open sedition, particularly in the circumstances of Clowe's Rebellion alter cases.¹²

Francis Asbury, who was to be the first Methodist bishop in America, witnessed in his own career during the Revolution the determination of the state to give protection to citizens so that they might freely adjust their consciences. His journal describes an instance of minor annoyance and obstruction. He tells how the local state official stood by ready to intervene with the instigators had they continued troubling Asbury.¹³ In the early years of the War he once entered Annapolis with distrust, though Maryland assemblymen had encouraged him by assuring him of a place to preach. "Contrary to my expectations," Asbury later wrote, "I preached in the church. . . ." ¹⁴ At Frederick, a few months before the surrender at Yorktown, he preached at the court house without incident. Attendance at his preaching during these difficult times was generally good. Methodists grew remarkably in numbers during the Revolutionary Period. This indicates that external mobility as well as internal freedom in conscience was considerable for the times.¹⁵

Freeborn Garrettson, another Methodist preacher, tested how conscientious the state was in respecting personal freedom during the War. He had been a companion of Martin Rodda, something of a Tory preacher, which made Garrettson suspect with some. There was also a natural tendency to be impatient with pacifists such as Garrettson in those times. "Brother Garrettson will let no person escape a religious lecture that comes in his way," Francis Asbury had said of him.¹⁶

¹¹ *Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London, 1793), December 5, 1784, entry.

¹² *Arch. of Md.*, XVI, 535 ff.

¹³ Elmer T. Clark *et al.* (eds.), *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (3 vols.; Nashville, 1958), I, 154 (April 20, 1775) and 473 (December 12, 1784).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241; June 27, 1777.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 430 (July 21, 1782) and p. 155 (April 29, 1775). Previous mention has been made of Asbury's sympathy with the American cause and how knowledge of this was withheld from state officials and the public in general. The active hostility of Wesley toward the Revolution could not but be identified with Asbury, which accounted for the ill regard in which he was held until the interception of his letter containing patriotic sentiments.

His fervor made him a typical Methodist preacher but the intensity noted by Asbury would also make him more trying to reluctant hearers of his words. Others would have fared better from the tolerance of people. Finally, there was hardly a more widely travelled itinerant preacher in Maryland than he. Garrettson thus provides a very reliable test for the whole state.

One of the most brutal and unjust attacks on Garrettson was dramatically stopped by the intervention of a magistrate in Kent County. When soldiers began to treat him roughly, a bystander provided a horse which carried him to the local magistrate. "I told him," Garrettson later wrote, "I was determined to Preach if I went to the stake[.] God had Called me, and a man should not stop me, I was determined to regard God rather than man. At that he became very friendly."¹⁷

A year later at Salisbury a military officer protected him against those who demanded that he take the oath.¹⁸ Garrettson did not oppose the cause of independence, but the oath to him implied the obligation to bear arms. Strangers would not easily understand his position. Yet, on one occasion in Dorset County when a magistrate puzzled over Garrettson's view of the oath, the sheriff and a gathering of people urged that Garrettson be allowed to go his way. "It is a pity to stop you," they said in tribute to his zeal for preaching and respect for personal freedom.¹⁹ A magistrate once intervened in favor of Garrettson's friend in Salisbury and an officer disciplined some soldiers who were threatening Garrettson himself.²⁰ In these and many other instances in Methodist journals, civil officials were described as effectively restraining certain radical elements of the Revolution, which threatened indiscriminately to penalize dissenters.

Considering that Garrettson lacked adequate prudence in manifesting his dissent, Marylanders must be credited with

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 348; May 5, 1780.

¹⁷ Freeborn Garrettson, *Journal*, June 30, 1778 (Drew Univ. Library, Madison, N.J.).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1779.

¹⁹ Freeborn Garrettson, *The Experiences and Travels of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, Minister of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in North-America* (Philadelphia, 1791), pp. 233-236; July 20, 1779 (hereafter *Experiences and Travels*). This is a polished and, in places, an abridged version of the above-mentioned *Journal* of Garrettson.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147 (February 25, 1780) and p. 144 (February 14, 1780).

considerable forbearance. He was not content simply to refuse military service and pay the fee for a substitute. "I was determined," he himself stated, "I never would never join the multitude to serve the devil."²¹ Such strong pacifist statements could not escape open expression nor fail to arouse antagonism in revolutionaries who heard them. It is not surprising that he had to be rescued by officials as happened at Salisbury.²² The public at large, however, tended to show sympathy for one in Garrettson's position. When a man tried to prevent Garrettson from going to another station of his circuit, a crowd disarmed him. At the height of the War one of these obstructors of his preaching came to him afterwards and apologized.²³

Garrettson began to preach on Maryland circuits during the unsettled and controversial days preceding the outbreak of the War. Yet as time went on through the War years he found that he was better treated. "God had . . . opened the eyes of one of the magistrates," he wrote of one instance of changed attitudes, "so far (although before he was a persecutor) that he took my part. . . ." ²⁴ In time he noted that his "enemies begin to be at peace." He cited instances on the Eastern Shore, and Somerset County in particular, as places where he found improvement.²⁵

Garrettson, like Asbury, made certain statements which seem to imply that the personal liberality of Marylanders rather than their recently passed laws accounted for his protection. His writings taken together do not substantiate this implication, nor do the situations which he described. His comparison of Maryland with Delaware is also misleading in this respect. "I could claim a right in the Delaware state," he once said "which state was more favorable to such *pestilent* fellows [*as himself*]." ²⁶ Yet the crowd in Delaware on occasion abused him as it did in Maryland.²⁷

The thought behind Garrettson's statements seem to stem

²¹ Garrettson, Journal, Book I, p. 22.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 22, and June 6, 1779.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1779.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 28, April 10, and May 5, 1779.

²⁶ Garrettson, *Experiences and Travels*, p. 155. Underlining is in original.

²⁷ Garrettson, Journal, pp. 128-29; September 12, 1778.

from his understanding of the Delaware oath and his misreading of the Maryland oath. The former in itself seems to exempt one from bearing arms for conscience. The latter did not, but relied on specific laws which exempted dissenters from the oath and bearing arms. Moreover, Maryland honored the Delaware oath as satisfying for its own requirement, a benefit of which Garrettsen actually availed himself.

It is important to note that Garrettsen clearly stated that his mobility and his position as a preacher was clearly favored by the law of Maryland. He called attention to this when he complained of the way he was restricted in Virginia. He expressed implicit preference for Maryland's legal settlement.²⁸ The fee for a substitute in military service proved satisfactory to him. He referred to his Maryland birth and property whenever he wanted a legal basis of protection. In the presence of military men and the people in general he made it clear, like St. Paul, that he was a citizen and entitled to the protection of the law. "If they laid a hand on me," an official told the crowd on one occasion, according to Garrettsen, "he would put the law in force against them. They withdrew to their homes, without making the slightest [*sic*] attempt on me."²⁹

All of these concrete instances tell us a great deal of the fact of the state's conscience. The cast of mind of the state as agent of the Revolution has a moral element. This says more than that the Revolution tended to be conservative in Maryland. Those leaders who were first to come out for independence, and who have been for this reason called radical, were identified with the conscientious manner of dealing with dissenters just as those moderates were who were slow to declare. A greater study of the manner of conducting the Revolution will ultimately throw light upon that act of conscience which in the first moments initiated it. The collective conscience is the same in both instances.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1777; see Robert D. Simpson, "Freeborn Garrettsen, American Methodist Pioneer" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Drew University, 1955), p. 57.

²⁹ Garrettsen, *Experiences and Travels*, pp. 122-125; see Simpson, *ibid.*, on militia fee.

THE VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATES IN MARYLAND, 1700-1710

By ROBERT G. SCHONFELD and SPENCER WILSON

THE historian of the Colonial period of American history is often confronted with a scarcity of primary sources from which he can reconstruct and interpret our colonial background. Fortunately, for the student wishing to study the Eighteenth century, a very large and rich collection of materials survive and are available for research. The Prerogative Court records, specifically the Inventory and Account Books (Liber), as a valuable source for the historian, provide information for a detailed analysis of the economic structure of colonial Maryland society.¹

The Inventory Books are composed of carefully compiled lists of the personal effects, furniture, clothing, and all the bric-a-brac found within the house or houses of the deceased. Within a short time after the death of a citizen, "late deceased of this county," two court appointed fellow-citizens were charged with taking a "true and perfect" inventory of the "goods, chattels, and possessions" of the dead citizen. This they did in a very conscientious manner, literally down to the smallest "piece of cloth." In no case was there a blanket amount attached by these agents to the furnishings of the house; they always enumerated every item as a separate entry in the inventory. All items of personalty were carefully listed in the Inventory and then appraised. This appraisal was carried out with equally meticulous care, whether the particular object was worth only a half cent or many pounds. The Inventory was then totaled, in pounds-sterling, and submitted to the Court as a true estimate of the value of a particular estate.

¹ Prerogative Court Records, Inventories and Accounts, Libers 20-32A, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Hereinafter referred to as: I & A, followed by the appropriate Liber and page numbers.

The Inventories, then, included personal property. Real property was wholly excluded.

Equal care was evident in the auditing of the Inventories at the final accounting in order to satisfy creditors and to comply with the terms of the will, if there was one. This accounting was handled by two other court-appointed citizens, one very often being the surviving mate of the deceased while the other was sometimes a newly acquired husband or wife. Whether related or not, these executors were responsible for the paying of any debts, collection of money owed to the estate, and the distribution of any remainder in accordance with the terms of the will. Naturally a former mate was most anxious to reach a quick settlement if it was to the survivor's advantage.

Only too often the final accounting, a process which could take a period of years, turned out to the disadvantage of the survivors. Then as today, men with very large assets died at the height of their most active years. As a result the bulk of a man's estate, if indeed not all of it, was absorbed by outstanding indebtedness. Regardless of the pecuniary outcome of the accounting, however, the final report of the executors was submitted to the court and marked the final closing of the books.

These processes, of Inventory and of Account, produce two sets of figures. The figure derived from the Inventory represents the total assets (real property excluded) of the deceased. A second figure, derived from the Account, represents the total indebtedness against the estate. Each figure tells an important story. From these still a third may be derived, by simple subtraction, showing the NET worth of the deceased's estate.

Since the economy of Maryland was based upon tobacco as the colony's main export, it was the principal source of income. The business system centered around the production, curing, and shipping of the leaf to markets in England. The crop was planted sometime in April and harvested in September. The leaves were then stored for curing, a process which took the rest of the winter. Due to the nature of the plant, it was necessary to ship after the process of curing was completed, usually the following summer. As a result the Mary-

land planter was often competing against his fellow planters in trying to ship his crop to England first. Moreover, especially during the recurrent wars of the times, the wars of the League of Augsburg and Spanish Succession, during the twenty years to 1710, he was completely at the mercy of the arrival and departure of the tobacco "fleet." That "fleet" was escorted by English war-ships to Maryland early in the fall; it wintered in Chesapeake Bay, and sailed with tobacco for British markets by the following August. With each sailing of the ships went the future profits of every Maryland planter and any colonist whose living was related to the tobacco crop.

This basic role of tobacco was reflected in some of the smaller estates for they were more often reckoned in pounds of tobacco rather than in money equivalents. This was done for the sake of convenience. For example, the estate of Thomas Mason of Talbot county was stated to be worth 6,835 pounds of tobacco, about £26 sterling.²

Because of an imbalance of trade and a concomitant drain of currency to England, the colonists were forced to rely upon substitutes for coinage. They devised "tobacco money" which was crude but effective for the local economy. On the colonial market one pound of tobacco brought three pounds of beef; two pounds of tobacco could be exchanged for a fat pullet, and a hogshead had buying power enough to supply a whole family with necessities for a year.³ One observer noted that "tobacco is their [*Maryland's*] meat, drink, clothing and money. . . ." ⁴ Another reported, "Tobacco is the current coyn of Mary-land, and will sooner purchase commodities from the merchant than money."⁵ Either way, in sterling or tobacco, the Prerogative Court records were kept as an accurate record of the value of a colonist's personal belongings.

² I & A, 20, p. 42.

³ "Four hogsheads of 950 pounds were considered a ton for London shipment." James T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), V, 276. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 47-48.

⁴ Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland 1720-1765* (Baltimore, 1915), p. 49.

⁵ A letter written by John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, concerning tobacco in the neighboring colony of Maryland, found in Ina Faye Woestemeyer and Charles L. Van Nappen, *The South, A Documentary History* (Princeton, 1958), pp. 60-61.

The following tables demonstrate five conclusions which were extracted from the statistics contained in the Court inventories and accounts. The first set of tables, numbers I and II, depict the actual size of the estates. Table II is a partial break-down of a segment of the first. Table III presents the indebtedness against those estates reported, while tables IV and V give a regional picture of the sizes of personal holdings. Lastly, the inventories contain records reflecting the amount of human bondage in the colony for this period.

Table I shows the total number of estates in relation to the estimated value of the inventories, from the poorest colonist to the wealthiest. For example, the estate of Charles Mackory of Dorchester county amounted to 4 shillings 6 pence. On the other hand, that of Thomas Homewood of Anne Arundel totaled £1263 14s 10d.⁶

Table I

The Value of Personal Estates 1700 - 1710

Value in pounds-sterling	Number of estates
0-499	3236
500-999	117
1000-1499	21
1500-1999	11
2000-2499	7
2500-2999	2
3000-3499	1
3500-3999	2
4000-4499	4
4500-4999	1

Because of the preponderance of cases contained in the lowest bracket, that of zero to four hundred and ninety-nine, that particular category was broken down further as seen in Table II.

Probably the most significant deduction from this further distillation of the inventory figures is seen in the very sharp drop between the £49 and the £50 mark. This point appears to

⁶I & A, 30, pp. 286-292. I & A, 24, p. 199.

establish a division line for separating the average citizens from the more well-to-do members of the community.⁷

Table II

The Value of Personal Estates, below £499

Value in pounds-sterling	Number of estates
0-49	1512
50-99	647
100-149	290
150-199	157
200-249	114
250-299	74
300-349	76
350-399	35
400-449	45
450-499	27

The amount of indebtedness contracted by the colonists named in the Accounts for the years 1700 through 1710 are reflected in Table III.

A business man of colonial Maryland was subjected to many of the same hardships as his counter-part at any time or place. The tobacco planters often found themselves the victims of shrewd London merchants and a fluctuating market. Maryland planters sold their crop to London agents and received credit on the sale. These agents, in turn, used this credit to fill orders from the planters for supplies, equipment, and luxuries for the ensuing year. If the market value of the crop fell below the expected levels, then the planter was in debt to the agent for the difference, which the colonist hoped to make up on succeeding crops. Planters were also guilty of over-extending themselves in land speculation, slave purchases, poor management, and the like, all of which contributed to their financial troubles. These same conditions were also responsible for indebtedness among the non-planter members of the colony.

The size of a personal estate as reflected in the Inventory

⁷ A man received the franchise when his estate amounted to between £40 and £50. Marcus W. Jernegan, *The American Colonies 1492-1750* (New York, 1943), pp. 396-397.

was only a relative indication of the wealth of the colonist. Beyond that was the matter of a final audit, the Account Books, which showed the real worth of each estate. Approximately twenty per cent of the total value of all the inventories considered in this period was claimed by outstanding debts.

Table III

Amount of debt (£)	Number of estates
0-49	850
50-99	200
100-149	65
150-199	40
200-249	20
250-299	10
300-349	6
350-399	5
400-449	2
450-499	4
500-549	2
550-599	2
600-649	1
650-699	4
700-749	1
750-799	2
800-849	
850-899	1
900-949	
950-999	2
1000-1049	1
1050-1099	
1200-1249	3
1450-1499	1
1600-1649	2

The estates of both rich and poor were subject to the demands of creditors. A considerable number of the wealthier men died leaving obligations which greatly reduced or even obliterated their fortunes. In Calvert county George Parker's personal effects were valued at £902, a substantial amount. When the last claim was settled, however, his estate was in debt to a

total of £998 leaving his heirs with a paltry £6!⁸ Justin Bennett of Talbot county died leaving an estate inventoried at £266 13s 7d. The total debt was £371 5s 5d, which presented his heirs with unpaid obligations amounting to £104 11s 10d.⁹ Finally, Robert Lucille, Esquire, of Queen Anne's county, passed away with outstanding debts of £1613 00s 3d and with no means for payment provided.¹⁰ Still, with this in mind, Maryland's colonists were apparently prospering during the first decade of the 18th century. Since 1683 the tobacco trade had experienced a remarkable growth and Maryland planters expected this to continue despite the outbreak of war in 1701. This very high level of indebtedness would seem to argue for optimism among the colonial businessmen even in the face of wartime confusion.¹¹

These same records also contained enough information for a regional picture of the estates considered. In both the Inventories and the Accounts, the names and places of residence were usually recorded as a part of the whole process. It was possible, therefore, to arrange the figures to show the relative wealth of all the counties and to further compare the counties on a regional basis. In Table IV the various counties of the Eastern Shore and Western Shore have been arranged under their respective geographical areas. The number of the estates for each major financial group were then placed opposite the proper county. The category "unknown" simply refers to those records for which there was no county listed. Anne Arundel county indicated the most wealth. While on the Eastern shore Talbot county showed the largest total value in estates inventoried.¹² Both regions, Eastern and Western shore, were nearly equal in development for the ten year period under study. In round figures, the size of the personal estates approached £237,000 respectively for both sections of the colony. As for the less fortunate areas, the newer settled colony of Prince George's on the West and Dorchester on the East vied for the

⁸ I & A, 20, pp. 259-260.

⁹ I & A, 25, p. 147.

¹⁰ I & A, 31, pp. 71-75.

¹¹ Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Shaping of Colonial Virginia: The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1958), pp. 115-124.

¹² There were 3402 estates in the period 1700-1710. Their aggregate total was approximately L475,000 sterling.

Table IV

Sizes of Personal Estates by Counties in Pounds-Sterling

County	0-	500-	1000-	1500-	2000-	2500-	4000-	4500
Eastern Shore	499	999	1499	1999	2499	2999	4499	4999
Cecil	141	4	3					1
Kent	195	9	1	1				
Qn. Anne's . .	81	9	2					
Talbot	435	11	1	1			1	1
Dorchester . .	199	2	1					
Somerset . . .	202	2		1				

County	0-	500-	1000-	1500-	2000-	2500-	4000-	4500-
Western Shore	499	999	1499	1999	2499	2999	4499	4999
St. Mary's . . .	274	7	3					
Charles	237	6			1			
Calvert	265	21	3	4				
Anne Arundel	299	23	6	3	3	1		1
Pr. George's	125	1	1	2		1		
Baltimore . . .	224	10						
Unknown . . .	317	11	4	3			1	1

Table V

County	0-	50-	100-	150-	200-	250-	300-	350-	400-	450-
Eastern Shore	49	99	149	199	249	299	349	399	449	499
Cecil	73	42	9	2	4	5	1	3	2	1
Kent	77	44	31	18	15	4	6	3		
Qn. Anne's	42	18	8	7	2	4	2	1	1	1
Talbot . .	198	99	60	25	19	12	16	6	4	4
Dorchester	127	33	16	6	8	2	3		1	1
Somerset.	130	37	14	8	4	2	4	2	3	3

County	0-	50-	100-	150-	200-	250-	300-	350-	400-	450-
West. Shore .	49	99	149	199	249	299	349	399	449	499
St. Mary's.	150	56	19	14	16	3	9	2	5	5
Charles . .	116	55	22	12	9	8	4		2	2
Calvert . .	127	51	22	17	14	12	6	8	5	5
A. Arundel	129	55	31	19	12	17	11	4	9	9
Pr. George's	40	31	21	11	9	2	2		1	1
Baltimore	117	55	21	11	2	3	7		11	3
Unknown	197	72	13	7	10	3	9	4	4	2

lowest position on the scale. The latter county was on the bottom of the entire colony.

Because of the large number of estates which fell into the poorest class, that group was broken down in Table V. This was done to coincide with a similar analysis in Table II.

One further fact emerged from the statistics of the Court records. That is, there was no appreciable alteration in the sizes of the personal estates during the ten year period. The inventories of 1700 were comparable with the inventories of a decade later.

Up to this point the Inventory and Account records provided the necessary data for a picture of the apparent monetary accumulation of those colonists who died during the period 1700-1710. The records were detailed enough to furnish a tabulation of the sizes of personal estates on colony-wide, regional, and county levels. The figures presented speak for themselves insofar as they go. It was also apparent from the investigation of the Inventory lists that a further piece of information, which seems to be intimately connected with personal holdings, should be mentioned in regard to this study. That was in the ownership of Negro slaves and indentured servants.

This second indication of affluence became obvious in the reading of the Inventory lists. The well-to-do man in 1700 Maryland must have pointed to his ownership of Negro slaves and of indentured servants as a symbol of his well-being. Men of moderate means did own indentured servants, but the larger estates were more often represented by the number of Negroes owned by the deceased. As was stated above, the figure of fifty pounds-sterling appeared from the Inventories as a division point for separating the average citizen from his wealthier counterpart.

Inventory lists carried the numbers of slaves, mulatto and Negro, indentured servants, and Indians. The men who took these inventories were also careful to provide as much information as possible in the space of one line concerning the age, health, name, and price of all servants. Inventories of indentured servants also indicated the period for which the particular person was still held to his or her indenture, for it was

upon this point that the price of the servant was fixed. Sex, age, and health were also taken into account.

Negro slavery was certainly an important segment of the local economic picture. For the decade under study there were a total of 1662 Negro slaves listed in the estates. This figure and the high prices, as seen in the Inventories, indicate the financial importance of that institution. The price of a good field hand ranged from £28 to £30. A Negro woman brought £25, while a combination of one man and one woman was valued at £60 for the pair. It has been noted that the ownership of Negroes began with those colonials whose personal estates ranged more than £50 total in the Inventory. Normally there were not a large number of slaves listed, however, unless the total estate was £150 or more. From that point on the number of slaves for each owner was apt to increase considerably. The largest number of slaves were in the estate of Richard Carter of Talbot county; he possessed fifty-six Negroes and five indentured servants and was worth, at the time of his death, £4126 3s 2d.¹³ The most usual number of slaves was nine, as listed in the estate of William Dorrington who was worth £173 19s.¹⁴ In the truest sense of the word, the Negro was property. He was listed as such even if he was absolutely worthless, as was the case for Mark Richardson whose estate at £440 5s 1d included the estimates of three Negro children and that of a man (drowned)—no value!¹⁵

Indentured servants were similarly treated as property and so enumerated in the Inventories. A sick servant boy and a sick man were valued at £4 respectively; both were in the estate of John Haskins of St. Mary's county. Haskins' estate amounted to only £23 7s, this being in direct contrast with the higher figures in the estates of the owners of Negro slaves. A much lower price per head and smaller numbers, only 711 for the entire period, indicate a lesser role for the indentured servant in the colonial economy.¹⁶

Mulatto slaves were listed and accounted for along with the Negro, regardless of the obvious mixture of blood. They also commanded a fair price but no more substantial a one than

¹³ I & A, 29, pp. 413-419.

¹⁴ I & A, 20, pp. 141-142.

¹⁵ I & A, 26, pp. 82-87.

¹⁶ I & A, 20, pp. 29-30.

that of a Negro field hand or house servant. There were only 107 mulattoes listed in the Inventories, a fact which at least presents a statistical record of the existence of miscegenation.

Finally, in spite of the general unsuitability of Indians for use as slaves, five were noted for the period 1700-1710. Perhaps the only significant deduction to be drawn from this lies in the classical names which were often given to these Indians. Richard Harrison of Charles County, with an estate of £735 1s 3d, owned ten Negroes, three servants, and one Indian named Pompey. Clearly Harrison admired the classics.¹⁷

There were 3402 estates listed in the Inventories, of these, 1890, more than half, were of £50 or more and therefore wealthy enough to purchase slaves. Furthermore, as was shown in Table II, the ratio between the value of those estates and the total numbers of estates at the same levels were increasing, up to the £150 figure. At that point the number of highly valued estates began to drop. For those planters in the £50 to £150 category the purchase of Negro slaves was an indication to all of economic, and probably social, promotion. The achievement of this "status symbol" removed many Maryland planters from the yeomanry class and placed them among the ranks of a new aristocracy of slaveholders.

Conceivably there were other household items carried on these Inventories which might further reflect the material wealth of the "Marylanders" during the years 1700-1710, but the authors felt that the statistics on slavery were a handy, interesting, and a fair method in demonstrating a significant criteria for riches in the colony. Slaves, Inventories, and Accounts, all add up to a picture of financial accumulation. The pound-sterling figures or their equivalents were of particular value in placing the individual estates in juxtaposition, as they were also in arranging the regional and county comparisons. Marylanders in all counties could, with skill and good luck, count upon amassing a considerable fortune.

¹⁷ I & A, 32, pp. 115-117.

BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES

Part 4

STONY RUN, ITS PLANTATIONS, FARMS, COUNTRY SEATS AND MILLS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(continued from September)

HAILES AND MERRYMANS: HOMEWOOD

NICHOLAS Haile was, most probably, the first white settler on that part of "Merryman's Lott" which, for more than a hundred and fifty years, has been called Homewood.⁴⁴ It fell to him on a date, the record of which appears to be lost, when he and Charles Merryman divided "Merryman's Lott" between them. Haile may have settled on this land before 1700, although there is no proof that he was living there until much later. In his will, bearing date, February 27, 1730, he refers to his portion of "Merryman's Lott" as "my now dwelling plantation," and to "Haile's Addition" as "my new plantation."⁴⁵ According to a plat of "Merryman's Lott," made by Joseph Ensor in the year 1770 and already mentioned in this article (note 23), the dwelling house of the Haile family, a one-story affair, was at that time situated with-

⁴⁴ It seems probable that the Carroll's gave the name of "Homewood" to this small but important estate. The name smacks of the fanciful, and may be in the same class as Bellevue, Montevista and Belmont. If this be true, then it is futile to look for a British Homewood. Bartholomew, in his "Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles," ninth edition, and in his Survey Atlas of England and Wales, p. 72-A-5, mentions only one British "Homewood": a "seat" in the county of Cumberland, in a small park, 1½ miles south east of Whitehaven, on the road to Egremont.

⁴⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Liber 1, f. 248. The testator, Haile, leaves to his son, Neale Haile, and to his eldest daughter, Mary, his dwelling plantation, part of Merryman's Lott, and Haile's Addition, after the death of his wife, Frances. Neal Hale (sic), son of Nicholas and Frances Hale (sic) was born December 21, 1718 (Register, St. Paul's, Baltimore County, Md.), and died in 1796. (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 5, f. 402).

in the site of the former botanical garden at Homewood, between the President's house and Gilman Hall. It may have been one of the houses on Homewood which Charles Carroll of Carrollton prudently advised his son Charles to remodel and occupy, instead of going ahead with his plan to build the relatively costly mansion now standing on Homewood.⁴⁶ On April 11, 1771, Neale Haile, son of Nicholas Haile, conveyed "Merryman's Lott," 105 acres, and "Haile's Addition," 30 acres, to Joseph Ensor, the above mentioned,⁴⁷ who, on June 27th of the same year, mortgaged these and contiguous properties to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.⁴⁸ The whole estate amounted to some 1017 acres. On September 5, 1789, Elijah Merryman and David McMechen, trustees for the estate of Joseph Ensor, Jr., *non compos mentis*, (his father was then deceased), purchased of Neal Haile the aforesaid "Haile's Addition" and part of "Merryman's Lott," which, on May 1, 1794, they sold to Mr. Carroll.⁴⁹ The great man did not long remain in possession of his part of "Merryman's Lott." The same year he deeded a part of it to Henry Wilmans and another, smaller part, to Richard Dallam, and on October 27, 1795, he sold to Mr. Wilmans 25 acres, "Lot No. 19," which appears to have been part of the same tract of land; and this was all he had.⁵⁰ Wilmans sold 79½ acres of "Merryman's Lott" to Messrs.

⁴⁶ Md. Hist. Mag., vol. 54, p. 360. In a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County (manuscript in possession of the Md. Hist. Soc.), circa 1799, mention is made of three simple dwelling houses, then standing on Lyliendale, part in the occupation of James Barry, and part (formerly) occupied "by Mr. [James] Walker, the late owner." Mr. Carroll very sensibly believed that his son, Charles, should chose among these three houses one which would serve his purposes, while he waited to fall heir to Doughoregan Manor.

⁴⁷ Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 150. The late Arthur Trader, Administrative Assistant of the Land Office of Maryland, to whom I owe this information, informed me that this was a "deed of Lease and Release to destroy estate intail and all reversions and remainders which were devised by his father Nicholas Haile."

⁴⁸ Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber D. D. No. 5, f. 194. So began the Carroll family's interest in "Merryman's Lott," later Homewood. Thanks are due to Mr. Trader for this information also.

⁴⁹ The last named deed is recorded in the Land Records of Baltimore County, Liber W. G. No. I, f. 524. A diligent search both at Baltimore and at Annapolis failed to discover the deed from Ensor to Merryman and McMechen, which is mentioned in the deed from the parties last named to Mr. Carroll.

⁵⁰ Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 54, pp. 358, 359. Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. Q. Q., folios 162, 166; Liber W. G. No. N. N., f. 602. The deeds from Carroll to Wilmans, respectively, call for 79¾ acres and 11 perches, and for "Lot No. 19," 25 acres. The deed from Carroll to Dallam calls for "Lot No. 20," part of "Merryman's Lott," 30 acres.

Stephen Casenave and James Walker, April 16, 1795.⁵¹ Walker conveyed his undivided moiety of the land so acquired to James Barry, of Baltimore City, May 20, 1798.⁵² Barry bought Richard Dallam's part, January 29, 1799.⁵³ On February 12, 1801, Mr. Barry, who is described as "of the city of Washington, gent." sold his undivided half part of 122 acres, 1 rood and 20½ perches, part (½) of Merryman's Lott, to Charles Carroll, Jr.,⁵⁴ who, on August 13 following acquired the remaining moiety of Richard Caton, his brother-in-law. Mr. Caton derived his title from Samuel Moale, trustee of the estate of Stephen Casenave.⁵⁵ On this estate Mr. Carroll built Homewood.

On April 24, 1809, the elder Carroll wrote to his son from Annapolis the following letter:

I do not know what deeds Mr. Harper [Robert Goodloe Harper, his son-in-law] wants from this place to enable him to make out yr title to Merrymans Lot; he has not written me for any, nor have I any relating to the Lot but those I delivered to him the 20th Oct. 1802, viz Joseph Ensor's deed to me dated 27th June, 1771 being a mortgage of sundry lands in Baltimore & Neale Haile's deed dated 11th April 1771 for 105 acres part of Merryman's Lot and of 30 acres called Haile's Addition: this last was I presume from Haile to Ensor, as it was made previously to Ensor's mortgage to me.

In this letter Mr. Carroll mentions a "yankee" named Heard who has applied for the position of superintendent of Homewood.⁵⁶

CLOVER HILL

Captain Charles Merryman, the co-partner of Nicholas Haile in the taking up of "Merryman's Lott," resided in Patapsco Neck. He had formerly lived in Lancaster County, Virginia.⁵⁷ It seems not improbable that Haile came to Maryland

⁵¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. R. R., f. 190. This deed calls for Lots Nos. 21-24, part of "Merryman's Lott" containing in all 79½ acres and 51 perches.

⁵² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 53, f. 448.

⁵³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 58, f. 139.

⁵⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 66, f. 409.

⁵⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 71, f. 111.

⁵⁶ Carroll Letters, Johns Hopkins University Library.

⁵⁷ Charles Merryman bought land in Patapsco Neck, Baltimore County, in 1682 (Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 10, p. 176: The Merryman Family, by Francis B. Culver.)

from those parts, and that he and Merryman had known each other of old.⁵⁸ It appears to be not unlikely that Merryman had cleared part of his moiety of "Merryman's Lott" and made other improvements on the property long before (in 1714) he conveyed the land, together with "Merryman's Addition," to his son, John Merryman.⁵⁹ He died December 22, 1725.⁶⁰ John Merryman died in 1749,⁶¹ and was succeeded in possession of this farm by his son, Joseph Merryman, who died in 1799.⁶² About the time of his death the farm contained 154 acres and was improved by a one-story frame dwelling house, 24 by 18 feet, with a back entry and kitchen, 28 by 16 feet, and a stone springhouse, ten feet square.⁶³ No doubt this was the springhouse which was still in place not a great many years ago at the foot of the hill on which stands the present Bishop's House, the residence of the Right Reverend Noble C. Powell. The spring over which this springhouse stood, ran into Edwards' Run (Sumwalt Run). Joseph Merryman's dwelling house is said to have occupied part of the site of the stone mansion

⁵⁸ Nicholas Haile, of York County, Va., planter, made a power of attorney to Dr. Thomas Roots, of Lancaster County, Va., in 1654. There is little doubt that he was the same person as that Mr. Nicholas Heale to whom was granted, 18 May, 1660, 738 acres on the N.W. branch of Corotoman River in Lancaster County. (Cavaliers and Pioneers, by Nell Marion Nugent, Richmond, Va., 1934, p. 569.) To this not inconsiderable estate were added by patent, 18 May, 1666, 234 acres more. (*ibid.*, p. 569). The patentee this time is called "Hale." The will of Margaret George, of Lancaster County, Va., dated 8 Feb., 1668, is witnessed by Nicholas Healee (sic), George Healee (sic) and Richard Mereman (Merryman?). (Abstracts of Lancaster County Wills, Virginia, 1653-1800, by Ida Johnson Lee, Dietz Press, Richmond, Va., p. 93.) George Heale is believed to have been a son of Nicholas Haile or Hale. (Heale Family of Lancaster County, Va., William and Mary College Quarterly First Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 296, 299). He executed a power of attorney, Nov. 8, 1677 (*ibid.*). He was a J. P. of Lancaster County in 1684, and presented that county in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1695 and in 1697 (*ibid.*). He died in 1697. One of his sons was named Nicholas. (*ibid.* and Abstracts of Lancaster County Wills, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112). Nicholas Haile of Baltimore County was born about 1657. In a deposition made in the year 1707 he gave his age as fifty years. (Md. Hist. Mag., Vol. 23, p. 200). This author inclines to the view that he was a son of the above-mentioned George Heale (sometimes Hale). It is worthy of note that he had a son named George.

⁵⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. R. No. A., f. 320.

⁶⁰ The Merryman Family, by Francis B. Culver, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² A very interesting article by a well-known journalist, Mr. Hervey Brackbill, "The Cathedral Grounds from the Indians to Today," tells the story of "Clover Hill." It appeared in *The Cathedral Chronicle*, Autumn Number, 1941. Mr. Brackbill mentions the springhouse.

⁶³ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *op. cit.*

built by one of his heirs and called "Clover Hill"—the Bishop's House. It passed out of the possession of the family in 1869, together with a part of the patrimonial estate,⁶⁴ which, although small, at the time stretched from York Road to Stony Run. By that time the old place was divided into many parcels, of which quite a number of the owners were Merrymans. In fact, as late as 1876 seven of them were Merrymans.⁶⁵ This, in view of the ever increasing pressure of suburbanization, and the restlessness of Americans, is quite a remarkable record, going back, as it does, to 1688. In 1926 the last parcel of "Merryman's Lott" still owned by a person of Merryman blood was sold to a company which was organized to build an apartment house on the site.⁶⁶

RIDGELY'S WHIM

Charles Merryman, the younger, entered into possession of, and settled on, "Merryman's Beginning" apparently without a deed from his father,⁶⁷ and died before him, in 1722. In his will, bearing date, 25th of December, 1720, he left "Merryman's Beginning" to his sons, William Merryman and Charles Merryman, jointly, styling this land his "dwelling plantation."⁶⁸ These sons sold "Merryman's Beginning" to Captain (later Colonel) Charles Ridgely (c. 1702-1772),⁶⁹ for whom, on February 4th, 1744 it was resurveyed into an extensive tract of land, containing 990 acres, which he called "Ridgely's Whim."⁷⁰ The vacant land, which was included in this resurvey, ran to 720 acres. Something more than half of this "vacancy" lies outside the Stony Run watershed, and

⁶⁴ Brackbill, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ G. M. Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore City and its Environs, 1876, Plate "S," pp. 72, 73. The names of the Merrymans appearing on this map as owners of parts of the old estate are: N. Merryman, Dr. Merryman, O. P. Merryman, J. Merryman, Jos. Merryman, Mrs. C. Merryman, Lewis Merryman. "Clover Hill," the home place, was then in the possession of A. S. Abell, who owned the adjacent Guilford estate.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Harry Lucas, née Merryman, was born at Clover Hill, and lived to be over ninety years old. About 1926 she sold part of "Merryman's Lott" to a company which built thereon the apartment house known as No. 100 University Parkway.

⁶⁷ I find no deed from Charles Merryman, Sr., to Charles Merryman, Jr., conveying "Merryman's Beginning," in the Land Records of Baltimore County.

⁶⁸ Baltimore County Wills, Vol. 1, f. 189.

⁶⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. B. No. E., f. 161.

⁷⁰ L. O. M. Patented Certificate No. 4158, Baltimore County.

takes in a considerable part of Roland Park lying west of Roland Avenue. To this estate Captain Ridgely added, before 1750, a tract of land, containing 225 acres, called "Job's Addition"⁷¹ (now included in Homeland). About the time when he took up "Ridgely's Whim," he acquired, in another part of the county, "Northampton," "Hampton Court" and "Oakhampton," names which suggested that of "Hampton," the well known landed estate of the Ridgelys of later years. His son, Charles, built the Hampton mansion, which stands on "Northampton." By 1750 Captain Ridgely owned, approximately, 7249 acres in Baltimore County, according to the Baltimore County Debt Book of that year.

In his will, dated April 1, 1772, Colonel Charles Ridgely bequeathed to his daughter, Rachel Ridgely, all that remaining part of "Ridgely's Whim" which had not already been conveyed by deed of gift to his daughter, Achsah Chamier, formerly Carnan.⁷² Rachel Ridgely (1734-1813), married Colonel Darby Lux (c. 1741-1795), of "Mount Airy,"⁷³ Baltimore County, by whom she had three daughters, namely: Ann Lux, who married Colonel Thomas Deye Cockey (c. 1762-1813); Rachel Lux (1762-1810), who married James McCormick, Jr. (1764-1841); and Rebecca Lux, who married George Risteau. Colonel and Mrs. Cockey had an only child, Frances Thwaites Cockey (1794-Dec. 28, 1873), who married Dr. Edward Fendall (c. 1787-1835), of Baltimore City, a native of Charles County, Maryland, and one of Baltimore's earliest dentists.

In 1777 Colonel and Mrs. Lux sold 10½ acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," to Robert Riddle, a Baltimore merchant, who has many descendants. In 1780 the same property,⁷⁴ on Stony Run, was purchased by Abraham Van Bibber, who,⁷⁵ in 1782

⁷¹ Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750, Calvert Papers No. 904, f. 14. Among the lands listed under his name is "Job's Addition."

⁷² Will Book 38, f. 758, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

⁷³ "Mount Airey" (part of "Samuel's Delight") has been now for many years the farm and seat of the Sheppard-Pratt Asylum. Before the trustees of the Sheppard Asylum acquired it, "Mount Airey" was the country estate of Mr. Thomas Poultney, who bought it from the Lux family. The late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, grandson of Thomas Poultney, gave me this information. In the *Federal Gazette* and *Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of May 6, 1796, Rachel Lux offered for sale the plantation of the late Darby Lux, "near Towson's Tavern" (site of Towson).

⁷⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. A, f. 378.

⁷⁵ The following year Riddle sold this land to James Wilson. (Balto. Co. Land

purchased of Darby and Mrs. Lux $54\frac{3}{4}$ acres more, adjoining his first purchase.⁷⁶ This property, so acquired, was part of the mill seat Paradise Mill, as we shall see later.

That which remained of "Ridgely's Whim" in the possession of Mrs. Lux was estimated, c. 1799, to contain 610 acres,⁷⁷ but was later found to contain but 528 acres. It is described, c. 1799, as being situated "above the mill of Ab.^m Van Bibber, Esq." (Paradise Mill), this with reference to Stony Run.⁷⁸ In 1799, or thereabouts, the improvements on this extensive estate, which was then in the occupation of Mrs. Lux's son-in-law, Thomas Deye Cockey, were modest to say the least: a log dwelling house, one story high, 20 by 14 feet; a log kitchen, 16 by 14 feet; a log stable and "negro houses."⁷⁹ A large part of the estate was probably at that time still in woods. Fragments of these woods are still to be observed in Blythewood. These woodlands and the northeastern corner of Roland Park, where numerous old forest trees still stand, have never been cultivated by white men. In 1799 this property of the Lux family must have been for the most part, difficult of access. That aspect of its situation changed radically in 1806, when Cold Spring Lane was laid out.⁸⁰

On September 25th, 1797, Mrs. Lux gave bond to her son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Deye Cockey, to make over to them one half of what remained of "Ridgely's Whim" in her possession, a contract which she made good on October 1st, 1803.⁸¹ On April 17, 1802, a division line was run by James Bouldin, the county surveyor.⁸² The northern half of the property was allotted to the Cockeys; the southern half fell to the McCormicks. Each part contained 264 acres.

Records, Liber W. G. No. C., f. 35). Wilson conveyed it to Daniel Bowley, (*ibid.*, f. 68) who in 1780, sold it to Van Bibber. (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. F., f. 254).

⁷⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. G., f. 410.

⁷⁷ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County c. 1799.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ See above, note 30.

⁸¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 76, f. 273.

⁸² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 75, folios 221-225. Bouldin's plat is filed with this deed. The division line begins at a stone and runs thence South $82\frac{1}{2}$ degrees West 147 to a hickory tree; thence the same course 21 perches—in all, a little over half a mile. The plat shows 77 acres marked "William Bowen" as part of the land allotted to the McCormick's. Subsequent

HEBRON

Ignoring the sale of small parcels of land as of no interest to the reader, let us now take up the history of the McCormick subdivision of "Ridgely's Whim," the patrimony of the McCormick Family.

James McCormick, a Baltimore merchant, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1763. He came to America soon after the close of the Revolution and died in Washington, D. C., June 6, 1841. His first wife, Rachel Ridgely Lux, died in 1810. By her he had two sons, William Lux McCormick and John Pleasants McCormick (1799-1868). The former married Esther Hough Cottman, daughter of Lazarus Cottman, of Somerset County, Md., and the latter married her sister, Ann Elizabeth Cottman. A portrait of James McCormick and family, by Joshua Johnston, the Negro artist, is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.⁸³

On December 13, 1802, James McCormick and wife conveyed to Abraham Van Bibber, for the sum of \$9742, 187 acres, part of "Merryman's Beginning" and "Ridgely's Whim" (the first named was, as we have seen, included in the second), "excepting out of the undivided moiety of the said James and Rachel and out of the moiety divided and located on the plat 77 acres of land being the 77 [acres] on the plat annexed [see note 82] with the words Willia Bowen wrote thereon, which the said James and Rachel had heretofore sold and laid off for said Bowen, *the fee in which remains in them and is not intended to be sold or conveyed*" [author's italics]; "and also all their and each of their right . . . in and to the lands on which said Van Bibbers mill is erected and to all their and each of their right. . . in and to 'Ridgely's Whim' and 'Merryman's Beginning,' except the 77 acres aforesaid."⁸⁴ No deed from McCormick to Bowen has been found, and Bowen nowhere subsequently appears to having any claim on

deeds seem to bear out this author's opinion that this division line was later followed by Cold Spring Lane.

⁸³ For these details I am indebted to the late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants. See his notes on the McCormick family portraits, manuscript belonging to the Md. Hist. Society.

⁸⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 75, f. 218 *et seq.* See also W. G. No. 74, f. 406.

these 77 acres. This small estate was "Hebron," the country seat of the McCormicks for many years. It stretched, originally, from Cold Spring Lane southwards as far as 40th Street, and from Hawthorn Road along Cold Spring Lane westwards across Roland Avenue to the far side of Evans Chapel Road, until the land now lying west of Roland Avenue was sold off. Abraham Van Bibber's 187 acres formed the bulk of his Paradise Farm (later called "Kensington"), which surrounded his Paradise Mill (*q.v.*).

On April 14, 1840, William L. McCormick and Esther H. McCormick, his wife, sold to Jeremiah Tittle all his one-fourth part of 80 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which he held in right of his late mother, subject to a life estate of his father, James McCormick therein, for the sum of \$800.00;⁸⁵ and on January 23, 1841, Tittle sold the land back to McCormick for \$1000.00.⁸⁶ In the later deed the land conveyed is described as "1/4 part of a tract of land called Hebron or Ridgely's Whim." Sidney and Brown's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850*, shows the residence of J. McCormick on the southern side of Cold Spring Lane west of Stony Run. On April 29, 1853, John P. McCormick and wife leased to Francis H. Jencks⁸⁷ of Baltimore City, for the term of ninety-nine years, in consideration of the sum of \$148.43 and a yearly rent of \$240.00, part of "Ridgely's Whim," containing 33 acres and 30 square perches of land.⁸⁸ That part of "Hebron" which remained in the occupancy of the McCormick Family lay in the middle between the land sold to Van Bibber and the land leased to Jencks. In his will, dated 17 April 1860, John Pleasants McCormick left to his wife "the farm or tract of land in Baltimore County on which I reside called Hebron, containing about 40 acres in fee." To his nephew, James L. McCormick, son of his brother, he left "all my interest in 33 acres and 30 perches of land in Baltimore County leased to Francis

⁸⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 301, f. 305.

⁸⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 305, f. 245.

⁸⁷ Francis Haynes Jencks (1812-1888), a prominent citizen of Baltimore, who came here from New England; grandfather of Francis Haynes Jencks, the well known Baltimore architect. There seems to be no tradition that the Jencks family ever occupied this land as a country seat (see under "Mount Pleasant.")

⁸⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Towson, Maryland, Liber 5, f. 105.

Jencks for \$240.00 per annum called Ridgely's Whim."⁸⁹ In her will, dated 21 December, 1866, Elizabeth Ann McCormick, widow of J. P. McCormick, leaves to Stewart Brown and Frederick Brune, for the benefit of her great-nephew, Thomas P. McCormick, until he comes of age, "my farm or property in Baltimore County consisting of about twenty-four acres of land called Hebron."⁹⁰ On November 6, 1861; John P. McCormick and wife sold to Charles Reese something over 16 acres of land, part of "Ridgely's Whim," situated two miles from Baltimore City, bounded on the north by the Public Road leading from the York Turnpike Road to the Falls Turnpike Road (Cold Spring Lane), a distance of 960 feet, and on the east by "Gibson" (part of Paradise Farm).⁹¹ Mrs. McCormick released a mortgage on this property to Mr. Reese, 17 May, 1862, which was then the place of residence of Mr. Reese, "formerly called Hebron and now called Elsinore."⁹² Messrs. Brune and Stewart, Mrs. McCormick's executors, being empowered under the terms of a codicil to sell part or all of "Hebron" which she had willed to Thomas P. McCormick, accordingly did sell two small parcels of this farm, one to Edward M. Greenway, the other to David G. McIntosh. They deeded, on June 2, 1873, all that remained of "Hebron" in the family, 16½ acres, to Thomas P. McCormick, who had recently come of age.⁹³ On August 8, 1881, Mr. McCormick sold this property, "being part of a tract of land called "Hebron," to Elizabeth Lee, of Baltimore County, for a consideration of \$6,600.00.⁹⁴ In this way the McCormicks parted company with the last parcel of land which descended to them through the Lux family from Colonel Charles Ridgely. Some time before 1886 Mr. Thomas H. Hanson, a Baltimore man of affairs and philanthropist, acquired this small estate, which he called "Wilton Villa." In that year he made a deed of gift of seven acres of this property to the trustees of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, on which new buildings to house

⁸⁹ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 30, f. 308.

⁹⁰ Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 33, f. 493.

⁹¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber G. H. C. No. 33, f. 327, Towson, Maryland.

⁹² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber H. M. F. No. 16, f. 447.

⁹³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 81, f. 118, Towson, Maryland.

⁹⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 127, f. 65, Towson, Maryland.

that institution were, without delay, erected. Mr. Hanson bequeathed to the asylum nine acres more, after the death of his wife. She died in 1896. The asylum purchased four acres of "Mr. Jencks" (Francis M. Jencks, 1846-1918, son of Francis H. Jencks, above mentioned), in 1912, lying between the land already in its possession and Roland Avenue.⁹⁵ A "spring branch" rises on Hebron and empties into Stony Run. I believe it is now entirely covered over.

MRS. FENDALL'S INHERITANCE

Upon the death of her father, Mr. Cockey, in 1813, Mrs. Fendall came into possession of 264 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim." Some small part of this land lay west of Evans Chapel Road, in Roland Park. The remainder included all the land formerly bounded by Evans Chapel Road, Wyndhurst Avenue (then called Cedar Lane), Stony Run and Cold Spring Lane. East of Stony Run it took in almost all of "Attica," lately the Robert Garrett estate, and "Blythewood," but did not include all of "Linkwood," the estate of the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, or the Crocker property. These properties belonged to "Paradise Farm."

CEDAR GROVE

During the lifetime of Dr. Fendall, Mrs. Fendall disposed of all of her land situated to the eastward of Stony Run, and her land lying west of Evans Chapel Road. On July 19, 1815, Dr. and Mrs. Fendall conveyed to David Jones 40 acres of land, being part of "Ridgely's Whim," situated on both sides of Stony Run, but mostly on its eastern side, including the southern part of what later became known as "Blythewood."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ *A Hundred Years of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum of Baltimore, 1808-1908*, by Samuel C. Appleby, pp. 1, 31, 45. Courtesy of Miss Martha Bokel.

⁹⁶ This and adjoining land, forming one property, were advertised for sale in the *Baltimore American* of March 16, 1815, by one William Vance, a Baltimore engineer, who must have been an agent for the Fendalls. The property is described as follows: "100 acres of land with a mill seat, situated between the York and the Falls Turnpike Roads, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from each, in a very agreeable and healthy [sic] situation, commanding an extensive view of the environs of the Bay. The chief part of the said land is heavily timbered, a never failing stream [Stony Run] runs through it with a great fall for water works. It has several springs of excellent water. A public road [Cold Spring Lane] runs in front from the York Road to the Falls Turnpike Road. This tract proceeds from Dr. Fendalls farm. The soil is very rich and the title indisputable. The

This small farm was called "Cedar Grove." Within its limits at the intersection of Kendall and Wilmslow Roads, in Roland Park, stands an old stone house, which, until recently, was the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Marty. According to available evidence, this house must have been built by Thomas Deye Cockey, between 1800 and 1813. A somewhat later addition was probably put up by Jones.⁹⁷ This Mr. Jones was a native of Great Britain, and died at "Cedar Grove," September 13, 1845.⁹⁸ His widow, Mrs. Sarah Jones, resided there, but before 1876 the property had passed into other hands.⁹⁹

WOODLAWN

An interesting article by the late B. Latrobe Weston, entitled "Before Roland Park," appeared in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of May 8th, 1934. Mr. Weston goes into the history of two farms, or estates, "Oakland," 264 acres, and "Woodlawn," 117 acres. The former is, in large part, composed of that part of "Ridgley's Whim" which Charles Ridgley gave to his daughter Mrs. Chamier (see under "Ridgley's Whim"). It lies outside the Stony Run watershed and does not concern us. "Woodlawn," says Mr. Weston, was purchased of "the

said place will be divided into two lots if required, one with the mill seat and the other which is heavily timbered, is said to contain very rich iron ore." In the *Baltimore American* of April 15th, same year, this same tract of land is again advertised. Applicants are advised to apply to P. Launay or to Dr. Fendall, Gay Street. This notice mentions the possibilities of the "great fall" of water. The chief part is said to be "heavily timbered"; the rest in "young and thriving timber." The property lies $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Baltimore Town. The deed from Fendall to Jones is recorded in Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 134, f. 29.

⁹⁷ The author interviewed Mr. Marty on March 18, 1944, who most kindly gave him the following information:

Mr. Marty has seen a newspaper advertisement of the year 1815 (which I overlooked) in which the property in question is described as improved by a "modern stone house," a barn and an ice pond. Mr. and Mrs. Marty have a letter they received from a descendant of David Jones, in which the writer says that he (Mr. Jones) built the house then standing. Mr. and Mrs. Marty owned one acre of ground on which the house stood. This house may well be the oldest building in the Stony Run valley, which, to be sure, is not saying very much.

⁹⁸ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society. The deceased was 65 years old and had resided 44 years in Baltimore County.

⁹⁹ J. C. Sidney and P. S. Brown's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, *op. cit.*, shows the residence of "Mrs. Jones" on the west side of Stony Run and the north side of Cold Spring Lane. Robert Taylor's map of Baltimore City and County, 1875, shows the house of "Mrs. Jones—Cedar Park." Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876, plate T, shows the house and land in question as in the possession of William A. Martien.

Greenways," in 1862, by Mr. Hiram Woods, a Baltimore merchant engaged in sugar refining, who built a residence on the property. The entrance to his farm was marked by a gatehouse, which stood near the present intersection of Roland Avenue and Elmhurst Road. Mr. Weston mentions the considerable lake (which was partly included within the limits of this farm), which was used for boating and fishing.¹⁰⁰ This pond, or small lake, was the largest of the three ponds which, in the past century, were situated on Stony Run, between Wyndhurst Avenue and Cold Spring Lane. Mr. Weston goes on to tell how Mr. Woods sold "Woodlawn" to Richard Capron in 1874, who years later conveyed it to the Roland Park Company. According to Mr. Weston, "Woodlawn," extended to "Cross Keys," on the western side of Evans' Chapel Road.

The original "Woodlawn," part of "Ridgely's Whim," came out of the 264 acres of her grandfather Ridgely's estate which belonged to Mrs. Edward Fendall. The name is commemorated by Woodlawn Road. "Woodlawn" lay within the area bounded by Stony Run, Cold Spring Lane, Evans Chapel Road and Cedar Lane, later known as Wyndhurst Avenue, and contained about 135 acres. The old Woodlawn house, residence of the Woods family, stood, until about thirty years ago, on the north west corner of Woodlawn and Upland Roads, in Roland Park, on the site (unless I am very much mistaken) of the Fendall house. It was a frame house.

Years after the death of Dr. Fendall¹⁰¹ his widow began dividing up "Woodlawn" and deeding it away in lots. On March 9, 1863, she sold to Edward M. Greenway some 24 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which is described in the deed as the land which Rachel Lux, in 1803, conveyed to Mrs. Fendall, "subject to a life interest in her mother, Anne Cockey."¹⁰² The land so conveyed bounds for a third of a mile on Evans Chapel Road and for 23 perches on Cedar Avenue (Wynd-

¹⁰⁰ The author consulted Miss Lucy Chase Woods, a daughter of Mr. Hiram Woods, about this lake, who told him that it was used for skating.

¹⁰¹ Dr. Edward Fendall died, 12 Sept., 1834, at the age of 47. He was one of the pioneers in the practice of dentistry in Baltimore City. He owned a farm in Charles County and a farm in Harford County at the time of his death. (Wills, Baltimore County, Liber 15, f. 277).

¹⁰² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 37, f. 33, Towson, Md. The deed of 1803 is recorded in Liber W. G. No. 76, f. 278.

hurst Avenue). Included in his deed was the right to erect a water wheel on Stony Run for the purpose of pumping water from a spring. This spring rose in the hollow now partly occupied by Park Lane, Roland Park, where Park Lane and Keswick Road meet. On September 7th of the same year Mr. Greenway conveyed this land to Hiram Woods, Jr.¹⁰³

The name of "Woodlawn" dates from the time of the Fendalls. Although there is an Irish "Woodlawn"¹⁰⁴ our "Woodlawn" probably has no connection with any place in Great Britain. The reader will find the words "Woodlawn—Mrs. Fendall—" in that area of Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County (1857) which is bounded by Evans Chapel Road (so named), Cold Spring Lane (not named), Wyndhurst Avenue (then called Cedar Lane, but not named), and Charles Street (so named), then but recently laid out. Evans Chapel Road is shown in its entirety, from Cold Spring Lane to the road now called Lake Avenue, at "J. W. Wards—Poplar Hill." Years later, the greater part of this old road was absorbed, so to speak, by Roland Avenue.

On October 30, 1863, Mr. Woods purchased of Mrs. Fendall some 15 acres of "Ridgely's Whim," adjoining the land he had acquired of Mr. Greenway,¹⁰⁵ and on May 10th of the following year Mrs. Fendall sold him $33\frac{1}{4}$ acres more, adjacent to his first purchase.¹⁰⁶ These lands, with some additions which need not detain us, made up his "Woodlawn" farm. He sold it, 19 May, 1875, for a consideration of \$100,000.00 to Mrs. Laura Lee Capron, wife of Richard J. Capron.¹⁰⁷ That the Roland Park Company acquired this farm from the Caprons is stated on the authority of Mr. Weston (see above).

On May 11th, 1864, Mrs. Fendall sold $19\frac{3}{4}$ acres of "Ridge-

¹⁰³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 38, f. 464, Towson, Md., Hiram Woods, Jr. (1826-1901), was the son of Hiram and Elizabeth (Chase) Woods, of Halifax, Mass., and Baltimore, Md.

¹⁰⁴ Bartholomew's Gazetteer of the British Isles, ninth edition: Woodlawn is the name of a railway station in the eastern part of County Galway, 10 miles west of Ballinsloe, and Woodlawn House, the seat of Lord Ashton, stands one mile south-west of the station.

¹⁰⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 39, f. 1, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 41, f. 8, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁷ This information comes from a mortgage, Capron to Woods, recorded at Towson, Md., in Liber 62, at f. 260. I was unable to find the deed from Woods to Capron.

ly's Whim" to Allen A. Chapman.¹⁰⁸ This piece of land was bounded by the land belonging to the Kyles (see presently), by the land belonging to "Mrs. Jones" ("Cedar Park," *q.v.*) and by an avenue 30 feet wide. On March 28, 1873, Messrs. Brooks and Barton, assignees in bankruptcy, paid Mrs. Chapman \$1135.02 for her dower rights in this and three other parcels of land.¹⁰⁹ About this time, or not long afterwards, this property was "developed" with the idea, so we are told, of providing homes for working men, and called "Evergreen." It was the first "development" in this neighborhood, and long antedated Roland Park, of which it is not a part.¹¹⁰

On May 11, 1863, Mrs. Fendall deeded to George Goldsmith Presbury, Jr., 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres of "Ridgely's Whim," bounded on the north by "an avenue leading from Charles Street Avenue" to Evans Chapel Road (this was Wyndhurst Avenue) and on the south by Samuel A. S. Kyle's part of the same land.¹¹¹ On November 4, 1864, she deeded to Anne E. Kyle (her daughter, wife of Samuel A. S. Kyle), 17 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim."¹¹² This land, to judge by her deed to Presbury, was already in the possession of the Kyles. It was bounded by the land sold to Presbury, the land sold to Chapman, the land sold by Greenway to Woods, and the land of Mr. Edmondson ("Blythewood"). As far as I can make out, this property and the property deeded to Chapman were the last portions of "Ridgely's Whim" in the possession of Mrs. Fendall.

In her will, dated 18 May, 1868, in which she describes herself as a resident of Baltimore City, Mrs. Fendall expresses a desire to be buried "in the family burying ground at Woodlawn, Baltimore County."¹¹³ It seems not unlikely that this

¹⁰⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 41, f. 6, Towson, Md.

¹⁰⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 79, f. 245, Towson, Md.

¹¹⁰ Hopkins's Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, Vol. 1, p. 76, Plate T, shows this piece of land divided into ninety-three lots, and bounded by Cold Spring Lane, and the lands of Richard J. Capron, S. Kyle and William Martein. The "Pro.^v Narrow Gauge [sic] Railroad" (later the Maryland and Pennsylvania), runs through the Martein property, having been constructed as far as Towson-town. The "development" is intersected by Chestnut Avenue and Prospect Avenue, both running north and south.

¹¹¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 37, f. 400, Towson, Md.

¹¹² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 43, f. 254, Towson, Md.

¹¹³ Wills, Baltimore County, Towson, Md., Liber 4, f. 329. The following children are mentioned in this will: Anne Kyle, aforesaid; Philip R. Fendall; Alice L. Maynadier, wife of Jeremiah Maynadier; Charles E. Fendall; Emily L.

graveyard was situated on the Kyle estate, for these seventeen acres were all that was left of the 264 acres which had descended to Mrs. Fendall from her great-grandfather Ridgely. In modern terms this property is surrounded as follows: by Oakdale Road, Keswick Road, Hawthorn Road and Elmhurst Road, and is a part of Roland Park. Mrs. Fendall died December 28, 1873.¹¹⁴ Her daughter, Mrs. Kyle, died the following year. Her will¹¹⁵ leaves the property in question to her husband, Samuel A. S. Kyle.¹¹⁶

On December 15, 1863, George G. Presbury and wife, Louisa, conveyed to Hiram Woods, Jr., for a consideration of \$500.00, certain rights, which are defined in the deed as follows:

The joint and equal right, benefit, etc., in common with the said Presbury of using the Pond constructed by the latter [Presbury] on his land adjoining the land of the said Woods situated in Baltimore County on the road or lane called Cedar Lane [now Wyndhurst Avenue] for the purpose of cutting and taking therefrom a supply of ice; also for the purpose of boating and bathing with the right also to construct and put up a wheel house at a suitable place on the land of the said Presbury and having retained sufficient ground for the construction of the said wheel house with the right to enter at all suitable times for repairing the same, and also the perpetual right of having a sufficient supply of water from the Pond aforesaid to drive the said wheel in order to force the water upon and supply the premises of the said Hiram Woods, Junior, with water from the springs on the grounds of the said George G. Presbury, Junior, lying west of the Stony Run Stream, and also right to a road way from the said Pond through the land of the said Presbury to the premises of the said Woods with free ingress and egress. [Right to erect the water wheel is confirmed by Presbury to Woods, the said wheel to be erected] "at or below the Spring on Stony Run." [It is therein provided] "that the pipe leading from the Pond within mentioned to the water wheel of the said Woods shall not be over six inches in diameter that no further drain of water from the Pond shall be made."¹¹⁷

Duval, wife of Elridge G. Duval; Araminta Duvall, wife of William B. Duvall; and a deceased daughter, Louisa, who married, and had an only child, Mrs. George H. Kyle.

¹¹⁴ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society.

¹¹⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Towson, Md., Liber 4, f. 445. This will was probated 22 Dec., 1874.

¹¹⁶ He was a member of the Baltimore firm of Dinsmore and Kyle.

¹¹⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 39, f. 194, Towson, Md.

On June 12th, 1866, Mr. Presbury sold to Mr. Woods the $23\frac{3}{4}$ acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim," which he bought of Mrs. Fendall.¹¹⁸ Ownership of the pond was thereby divided.

When it was intact, this pond (or "lake," as it was sometimes called) must have been a thing of considerable beauty. Photographs of the two lesser ponds, situated a little farther downstream, both on "Blythewood," show lovely sheets of water, with beautiful surroundings. Unfortunately about 1876, a narrow gauge railway (later the Maryland and Pennsylvania) was built from Baltimore up the valley of Stony Run. It crossed the lake from south to north, destroying (there can be no reasonable doubt) whatever charm it may have possessed. This pond and the "Paradise Mill" pond were, in my opinion, the largest ponds ever built in this valley. The Presbury pond was six hundred feet long and its extreme width was not less than two hundred feet.¹¹⁹

WINDHURST OR ATTICA

On the western side of Charles Street Avenue, between Wyndhurst Avenue and Cold Spring Lane, there were, until lately, three comparatively old countryseats, "Windhurst," later "Attica," "Blythewood" and Crocker's, which last, as far as I have been able to find out, had no name either fancy, historical, or realistic. "Blythewood" was the first to be subdivided. "Wyndhurst" is a variation, but scarcely an improvement, on "Windhurst," if, as I believe, they were not pronounced alike.¹²⁰ The Robert Garretts, called it "Attica," the Bakers called it "Windhurst," and George G. Presbury, it is said, called it "Eagles."¹²¹ It is now the seat of Boumi Temple, Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The impressive Baker-Garrett mansion has been pulled down. "Attica" and the northern part of "Blythewood" came out of a tract of land, containing $56\frac{3}{4}$ acres, probably a small farm,

¹¹⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber 45, f. 284, Towson, Md.

¹¹⁹ These measurements are taken from Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876, Vol. 1, p. 76, Plate T.

¹²⁰ On Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1875, the place, then the residence of William S. G. Baker, is called "Windhurst," while the avenue on which it bounds is called Wyndhurst Avenue.

¹²¹ This information comes from the late J. Paul Baker, a son of William S. G. Baker.

part of "Ridgely's Whim" and part of "Gift Resurveyed," which Dr. and Mrs. Edward Fendall conveyed to John Martin in the year 1819.¹²² In 1822 Martin sold this property to Granville S. Oldfield.¹²³ Oldfield sold it, in 1827, to Henry Hazle,¹²⁴ who, in 1833, with John Berryman, conveyed it to William Lowry.¹²⁵ Lowry held it nearly ten years and, in 1843, sold it to Dr. James Duck.¹²⁶ On July 16, 1847, Dr. Duck, then of Brooklyn, New York, sold this estate, together with an adjacent part of "Vauxhall," to the Rev. James Joseph Dolan, for \$5000.¹²⁷ In less than thirty years this property had had four owners, and the end of this short-term ownership was not yet. The same year Father Dolan purchased of Mrs. Mary Linthicum, trustee, lands adjoining his first purchase on the east. His second purchase included all the northern part of the Notre Dame School and Convent grounds, and was mostly part of "Job's Addition." In 1850 he deeded all these lands to the 'Trustees of the Orphans' Home.'¹²⁸

Father Dolan, a native of Ireland, was a man of ideas and ideals. He built the Orphans' Home with borrowed capital, in 1847. The Home was not incorporated until 1849.¹²⁹ The inmates of the Home were expected to work on the farm, which was said to be in a neglected condition. The site of the Home is indicated by name on Sidney and Brown's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850*.¹³⁰ Shown on this map is a

¹²² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 153, f. 283, and Liber W. G. No. 154, f. 8. The first deed conveys 53 acres and a small plot of 114 square perches. The 53 acres are described as bounded by "Vauxhall" and "Job's Addition" and by the land sold to David Jones (*q.v.*). The second deed calls for 3 acres and 20 square perches, part of "Ridgely's Whim."

¹²³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 164, f. 354.

¹²⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 186, f. 73.

¹²⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 230, f. 165.

¹²⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 335, f. 532.

¹²⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. W. B., f. 283. The land therein conveyed is described as all the land which was sold to the grantor by William Lowry and wife, except 24 acres, part of "Ridgely's Whim" and "Vauxhall," which James Duck and wife sold to Michael Alder, 26 March last past.

¹²⁸ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 445, f. 337. In this conveyance the deed from Linthicum to Dolan is referred and its date given. Mrs. Linthicum was a Bryan, and the land she deeded to Father Dolan had belonged to her father, James Bryan (*q.v.*).

¹²⁹ Acts of the Maryland Assembly, 1849, Chapter 389.

¹³⁰ By J. C. Sidney and P. J. Browne, Published, Baltimore, Md., by James M. Stephens. On this map there is no sign of Wyndhurst Road, nor is it to be observed on Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857.

road leading from the York Road to the Orphans' Home. A section of this road is still in use under the name of Notre Dame Lane.¹³¹ During the time of the Orphans' Home the spring on this property was blessed, and seminary students used to visit it in order to drink of its waters.¹³² This spring, situated a short distance southeast of the site of the Garrett mansion, near Charles Street, has been covered over, but the old springhouse which sheltered it is undoubtedly the one now standing. This springhouse is shown (I believe) on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*.¹³³

The estate lately known as "Attica" was the seat of the Orphans' Home for thirteen years, if we begin with Father Dolan's deed from Dr. Duck. On November 8, 1860, the Trustees of the Orphans' Home sold this property, containing 38 acres, and composed of parts of "Ridgely's Whim," "Gift Resurveyed" and "Mount Pleasant," to William B. Duvall, Jr., for a consideration of \$38,000.¹³⁴ The two tracts of land last named lay, respectively, the one along Cold Spring Lane, the other along Charles Street Avenue. During these thirteen years the value of the property had greatly increased, owing in part to the extension of Charles Street Avenue, in 1854, and perhaps to the laying-out of Cedar Lane, now Wyndhurst Ave., but chiefly, I believe, to the erection of a substantial building, the Orphans' Home, itself.

In purchasing this estate Mr. Duvall bought back into the possession of the Ridgely family that part of "Ridgely's Whim" of which it was largely composed, but only for a brief spell. His first wife, whom he married December 12, 1837, was

¹³¹ From Miss Martha C. Bokel I obtained the following information: Notre Dame Lane runs from the York Road to the east side of the Notre Dame property, a short distance west of the site of the Albert (Cedar Lawn) Lake. It was originally called Church Lane, and went to the Orphans Home.

¹³² This information was given me by the late Mr. J. Paul Baker, who was born in 1863, and went to live on "Windhurst," the name his father gave to the Orphans Home property, in 1865, when the elder Mr. Baker bought it. This gentleman was William Sebastian Graff Baker, who died about 1920, at the age of eighty-three.

¹³³ History of Saint Mary's Church, Govans, by the Rev. Paul E. Meyer, 1942, pp. 16, 19. For calling my attention to this history I am much indebted to Miss Martha C. Bokel. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1876*, Vol. 1, Plate T, p. 76. This map shows a small building situated at the head of the stream, a tributary of the Homeland Branch of Stony Run, which rises on Attica at the spring over which stands the present springhouse.

¹³⁴ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 31, f. 135.

Laura Fendall, a daughter of Dr. Edward Fendall and Frances Thwaites (Cockey) Fendall. She died in 1845, and he married, 2nd, her sister, Araminta Fendall, who died in 1909. Mr. Duvall was born in 1813, and died in 1869.¹³⁵

The property under consideration was sold by William B. Duvall, May 5, 1862, to George G. Presbury, Jr., who has already been mentioned. Mr. Duvall appears to have lost money in the transaction. The consideration was \$23,470, subject to payment of a mortgage to the trustees of the Orphans' Home, amounting to \$6,500.¹³⁶

George Gouldsmith Presbury, Jr., the fourth of that name, was a man of excellent family, according to Maryland standards of his time. He belonged to that branch of the Presburys of "Elk Neck," Harford County, which owned and resided upon an extensive estate situated on the Baltimore County side of Gunpowder River, above Oliver Point.¹³⁷ This estate was called "Surveyor's Point," the old name for Oliver Point. He was the son of George Gouldsmith Presbury, III, and his wife, Sarah Howard, daughter of Thomas Gassaway Howard, Esq. of "Bloomfield," Baltimore County, ancestors of the Duchess of Windsor. Mr. Presbury engaged in the hotel business. He owned, it is said, a hotel in Philadelphia and a hotel in Cape May. During the season at Cape May chilling east winds were wont to blow and chilly days occurred, especially as autumn and closing-time drew nigh. The late J. Paul Baker told me that the resourceful Mr. Presbury met this situation by appearing before his guests attired in light summer clothing, while (unknown to them, but, perhaps suspected by some) he had on "two or three suits of heavy underwear." I am under the impression that after selling "Windhurst," or "Eagles . . ." as he is said to have called it, he went to live in the North. I am informed that he married a Miss Lusby.¹³⁸ Except

¹³⁵ I do not find this road (Wyndhurst) on any map prior to 1860; but I think it may be considerably older. My opinion is that it was a farm lane, giving access to the Alder farm, which occupied the northern side of Cedar Lane between Roland Avenue and Stony Run, being part of "Vauxhall," and was called Cherry Hill.

¹³⁶ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 34, f. 329.

¹³⁷ See this author's account of the Presbury family in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume LIII, p. 247, note 32.

¹³⁸ The author had this from his mother.

as a surname of colored people, the Presbury name appears to be extinct in Maryland.

The property later known as "Windhurst," and later still as "Attica," came into the possession of William Sebastian Graff Baker in 1865. He purchased it of George G. Presbury, Jr., for a consideration of sixty thousand dollars, and it contained a little over thirty-eight acres.¹⁸⁹ Mr. Baker died about 1920, at the age of eighty-three. His wife was Elizabeth Zanzinger Cockey. In 1945 I had the pleasure of interviewing his son, the late J. Paul Baker, who was then in his eighty-third year and who died a few years later. Mr. Baker was born in Baltimore and went to live at "Windhurst" (as the Bakers called it) in 1865. At that time Wyndhurst Road, according to Mr. Baker, was a country lane bordered by cedar trees, and was called Cedar Lane. Mr. Baker showed me an old photograph of "Windhurst." Since this photograph was taken the aspect of the house was considerably altered, but it appeared to this author to have been, in the time of the Bakers, of the same size as it is today. It was four stories high. Mr. Baker told me that his father had been obliged to rebuild one of the walls of "Windhurst" which rested on an old foundation. At the time of this interview I was of the opinion that George Gouldsmith Presbury built "Attica" or "Windhurst." Mr. Baker agreed with this theory, but said he thought Mr. Presbury had erected the mansion on the foundations of the Orphans' Home. He added that the Garretts had made considerable improvements in the house. The Rev. Paul E. Meyer, the author of the *History of Saint Mary's Church, Govanstown*, was of the opinion that the Orphans' Home stood on the site of the Garrett mansion. There are no ruins or extensive foundations on this property which might be the remains of the Home. I, myself, have come around to the opinion that the Garrett mansion was the Orphans' Home, altered so as to make it into a convenient family residence. There is reason to believe that it was not built by Mr. Presbury and dates from before the time of his ownership. In the time of the Bakers there was a windowpane in the dining room on which was engraved, or scratched, the name

¹⁸⁹ Towson, Maryland, Deed Book 44, f. 402. Bond, George G. Presbury, Jr., to William S. G. Baker, 15 April, 1863.

"Duvall." I had this from Mr. J. Paul Baker. In all probability the Duvalls built "Attica."

Mr. Baker's father sold "Windhurst" to the late Robert Garrett in 1906.¹⁴⁰ The property remained in the possession of this distinguished gentleman for over fifty years. It was a "show-place," the seat of culture and the scene of elegant hospitality.

BLYTHEWOOD¹⁴¹

This beautiful name is probably not fanciful in its origin, as some people might be led to suppose. Blythewood and Blythwood are the names of British family seats. Blythwood is the name of a family seat and post-town near Maidenhead, Berkshire. Blythwood is the name of a seat on the south bank of the Clyde, below Renfrew, in Scotland.¹⁴²

On May 10th, 1667, (Colonel) John Douglas (Douglas) took up "Blithwood," on the north side of the Potomac River, in Charles County, Maryland.¹⁴³ This gentleman was a direct ancestor of Mrs. George Weems Williams, who for the past forty years has lived on Baltimore's Blythewood, in a beautiful house which occupies the site of the Blythewood barn. This is a very interesting coincidence. It is not unlikely that Col. John Douglas named his survey for a family seat in Scotland.¹⁴⁴ A Baltimorean, Joseph A. Edmondson, who died May 16, 1891, at the age of seventy-three, named our local Blythewood. From a letter, addressed by his grandson, J. Hooper Edmondson, to George Weems Williams, dated November 17, 1932, we gather

¹⁴⁰ This information is taken from a letter addressed to the author by Mr. Garrett from Lake Placid Club, Essex County, New York, 15 July, 1944: "When I brought the property in 1906," the letter reads, "there was a frame cottage near my barn (which still stands). The cottage however was torn down and in its place was built the present stone house near the southern boundary. The main house, the barn and the frame cottage were the only buildings on the property in 1906—except a stone spring-house."

¹⁴¹ The author is very much indebted to Mrs. George Weems Williams, who lives on part of Blythewood, for aid in preparing this chapter, particularly for the loan of Mr. Edmondson's letters to her late husband and for photographs of the two Blythewood ponds. The author is also indebted to Mr. James R. Edmunds, 3rd, another resident on Blythewood, for valuable information.

¹⁴² Bartholomew's Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, 9th edition, 1943, p. 77.

¹⁴³ Charles County Rent Roll, Calvert Papers, No. 885½ f. 86.

¹⁴⁴ The author has a note, the source of which he can not trace. It reads: "Blythwood is the seat of the Douglas-Campbell family." For Campbell-Douglas I have a reference to Burke's Landed Gentry, 7, which I have not consulted, since it is not available.

the following information: "I think my grandfather saw the name [Blythewood] somewhere in the Lake region of England when he was there in the early 1860's and adopted it."¹⁴⁵

Except for a small strip of land along Charles Street Avenue, "Blythewood" is wholly included in "Ridgely's Whim," and most of it is included in that part of "Ridgley's Whim" which was surveyed for Charles Merryman, Jr., February 5th, 1704, and called "Merryman's Beginning." On September 24, 1861, the Rev. James Joseph Dolan and the Trustees of the Orphans' Home conveyed 15½ acres to Joseph A. Edmondson.¹⁴⁶ February 1, 1866, Mr. Edmondson bought 32 acres of William C. Conine and wife.¹⁴⁷ These lands, including a very small parcel purchased of Mrs. Fendall, composed the estate to which Mr. Edmondson gave the name of "Blythewood." The Conine property included a tract of some 18 acres purchased by Stephen Broadbent, Jr., of Sarah Jones, widow, July 17, 1860,¹⁴⁸ and was part of the farm known as Cedar Grove (*q.v.*).

Mr. Edmondson caused three houses to be built on "Blythewood," one for himself and one for each of his two sons. One of them, built partly of stone and partly of wood, and still standing, has had many owners, and is remembered as the Rulon-Miller house.

The northernmost of the three houses, a frame building, was pulled down in 1926. On its site was built, for the late Mrs. John Gilman and her daughter, the late Mrs. D'Arcy Paul, after designs drawn by Charles Adams Platt (1861-1933), the large and beautiful mansion, now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hambleton Ober. The third house, still standing, which was separated from the others by Blythewood Road, was erected in 1867, and is the home of Mr. and Mrs. James R. Edmunds, Junior.¹⁴⁹

In conclusion, we quote, in part, Mr. Edmondson's letter to Mr. Williams, which is mentioned above. Referring to one of several photographs of the Blythewood lakes which were in the possession of Mr. Williams, Mr. Edmondson says:

¹⁴⁵ If there was a Blythewood in the Lake District, Bartholomew's Gazetteer (*op. cit.*) does not mention it.

¹⁴⁶ Towson, Maryland, Deeds, Liber 33, f. 152.

¹⁴⁷ Towson, Maryland, Deeds, Liber 47, f. 318.

¹⁴⁸ Towson, Maryland, Deeds, Liber 30, f. 105.

¹⁴⁹ I have it from Mr. Edmunds that this date is carved on his house.

As to the picture of water flowing over the dam, this shows the dam at the south end of the "upper lake" just after a heavy rain. This lake was on the northerly part of Blythewood, oval in shape and parallel with the R.R. It was about 175 feet long by 100 feet wide and was formed by damming the stream, Stoney Run. Its purpose, ornamental in part, was more particularly to operate an overshot wheel and ram which forced the household water up to a cistern in the top of the northernmost of the three houses on top of the hill. This water came from a natural spring across the R.R. in what is now Roland Park and was piped under the track over to the wheel house and thence forced up to the house. Stoney Run flowed from here south about 400 feet under a wagon bridge, to the "lower lake" which was much larger, about 375 feet by 150 and was formed by another and much larger dam, perhaps eight feet high, made of stone and topped with slabs of slate brought down from the quarries at Delta, Pennsylvania. Here too was a wheel house and ram which forced the same spring water up to the other two houses on top of the hill, in the upper of which my grandfather lived and we occupied the lower. This lake was stocked with fish, carp, mullets, &c. and had a boat. We got ice here for the two ice houses until we feared the water was polluted from Roland Park. This lake began to fill up about 1906 in the upper end but was still undiminished in size when we sold the upper one-third of Blythewood to John W. Garrett in 1907. The balance was conveyed to him in 1910.

G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1876*, Plate T, shows the two lakes on "Blythewood" and the three dwelling houses.

HOMELAND

"Homeland," the estate of the Perine family, containing 391 acres, was sold by the heirs of the late Elias Glenn Perine (June 14, 1829-June 15, 1922) to the Roland Park Company, in 1924, for a consideration of not less than one million dollars. This eminent company "developed" the estate, retaining the name, "Homeland," by which it had been known since 1835. Before 1835 it was called "Job's Addition." The family graveyard of the Perines was removed from "Homeland" in 1922, in anticipation, no doubt, of the sale of the property. The 78-year-old mansion was razed in 1924.

"Homeland" is composed of divers tracts, and parts of

tracts, of land, including: part of "Job's Addition"; part of Vauxhall" (the land west of Charles Street Avenue); part of "Friend's Discovery" (lying north of Belvedere Avenue); "Bryan's Meadows" and "Addition to Bryan's Meadows resurveyed" (between the Homeland branch of Stony Run and the York Road); "Hannah's Lott" and part of "Sheredine's Discovery."

The kernel of "Homeland" is a tract of 150 acres, part of "Job's Addition." On it, upon the same site, have stood all of the four known dwelling houses of its owners. This piece of land is nearly a parallelogram, bounded on the north by Belvedere Avenue, on the west by Charles Street Avenue, and on the south by Homeland Avenue. On its eastern side its bounds keep close to the course of the Homeland stream. The southern part of "Job's Addition" lies below Homeland Avenue and has a different history, which will presently be taken up.

"Job's Addition," 225 acres, was surveyed for Job Evans, August 24th, 1695, who assigned it to James Butler, by whom it was patented.¹⁵⁰ Evans was the patentee of "Friend's Discovery," 1000 acres. In 1746 Leonard Decauss and Jane Bourdillon, separately, conveyed their rights in this land to Charles (later Colonel) Ridgely, the patentee of "Ridgely's Whim."¹⁵¹ In 1797 William Buchanan bought 150 acres, part of "Job's Addition," of Rebecca Ridgely.¹⁵²

Maulden Perine (1771-1794), who went from Harford County, Maryland, to live in Baltimore, married, October 22, 1793, Hephsohah Brown, of New Jersey, who married, secondly, November 10, 1799, the aforesaid William Buchanan (1746-1824), who was Clerk of the Court of Baltimore County, by whom she had issue. By her first husband she had David Maulden Perine, of "Homeland," (1796-1882), the father of Elias Glenn Perine, aforesaid. The former was for many years Clerk of the Court of Baltimore County, as his step-father had been

¹⁵⁰ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C. No. 3, f. 415, *et seq.*

¹⁵¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber T. B. No. E, folios, 192, 193.

¹⁵² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 51, f. 388. In 1778, Darby Lux, the son-in-law of Col. Charles Ridgely, purchased of one James Duhurse, the whole of "Job's Addition." Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 3, f. 316). I have not tried to work out all the phases of this puzzling title.

before him. Mrs. Hephsohah (Brown) Buchanan died at "Job's Addition," November 4, 1832.

The following description of improvements on William Buchanan's part of "Job's Addition" is taken from a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, c. 1799-1800. This tax list is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society:

William Buchanan—a tract of land near Govans Town—149 acres with a small tenement occupied by a negro man near Bryans say a log house 16 by 12. On the Land a barn & stable of log 40 x 18 do. stable 16 by 12.2 old negro houses 20 by 14 [and] 10 by 10. A framed 2 story dwelling 30 by 20, stone addition, 32 by 20, 1 story. a Kitchen partly of stone partly of wood 30 by 24. Fraime milk house 12 by 12. meat house 10 by 8.

The information which follows, and some of the information which has already been given, is taken from a superb illustrated history of "Homeland," compiled by the late Washington Perine, a son of Elias Glenn Perine. This history, which is in manuscript, is a true labor of love. A copy of it may be seen in the library of the Maryland Historical Society:

"Homeland" was named by David Maulden Perine. The original entrance (before Charles Street Avenue was extended through "Homeland," in 1854) was a narrow roadway leading in from the York Road at Govanstown. In 1839 Mr. Perine took down the original, frame dwelling house [it was actually partly of stone], built before 1797, and built, upon the same site, a stone house of about 100 feet front, with front and rear porches to the second story each supported by six columns. Robert Cary Long was its architect, and it cost about \$40,000. It burned down on the night of March 7-8th, 1843, while the family was living in the city for the winter. The fire was supposed to have been of incendiary origin. Not discouraged, Mr. Perine had plans drawn for another mansion, to be erected on the same site. This house was finished in 1846, and stood for seventy-eight years.

The ornamental "lakes," or more properly ponds, on Homewood, which have not been drained and are still things of beauty, were dug in 1843. A conduit was at that time con-

structed from the head-springs of the Homeland stream to the head of a hollow a short distance north of the mansion (where no doubt there was a spring). This conduit supplied the mansion and its outbuildings with water. The surplus water flowed down the hollow into the first of a chain of lakes lower down the valley. This conduit was 2100 feet long, and, in one place, seventeen feet under-ground. There were, in all, six lakes or ponds. One of them, which Mr. Perine calls the "third," was named "the Banjo Pond." They were not intended for swimming, but were used as ice-ponds. The last, or lowest, pond was stocked with fish. Their usefulness was incidental, however. Primarily, they were built for the purpose of beautifying the estate, and reflected great credit on the taste of the proprietor, for they must have cost a tidy sum. The springs which supplied the water for these water works and ponds were, presumably never failing, so long as "Homeland" was a farm, all fields and woods; but now that the old estate is covered with houses and roads, this is no longer the case, and city water must be introduced in dry weather, to keep the ponds from going dry.

The extension of Charles Street Avenue through "Homeland," in 1854, destroyed a number of apple trees in an orchard planted about 1800. The logs of these old trees were kept in storage, until 1902, when they were turned over to a cabinet maker and made into dining-room chairs. The Maryland Historical Society is the owner of two of these chairs. On the back of each one is carved a representation of one of the two mansions designed by Robert Cary Long, which stood on "Homewood."

THE BRYAN FAMILY

NOTRE DAME CONVENT AND SCHOOL

Among the "real" country people—early settlers of the Stony Run valley, or watershed, and their immediate descendants, as distinguished from Baltimore merchants, capitalists and professional men, owners of "country places," or a gentleman of elegant leisure, like Charles Carroll, of Homewood—were the members of the forgotten Bryan family.¹⁵⁸ The Tax

¹⁵⁸ Also O'Brien, Brien and Bryant.

List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *c.* 1799-1800, credits James Bryan with 600 acres, of which, according to my estimate, more than half was within the confines of this valley, all in one farm. This big farm descended, almost intact, to his son, Charles Bryan, who died in 1837. I have in hand a copy of a plat of this property of not less than three hundred acres, made soon after Charles Bryan's death (1837), showing the estate as divided among his wife and children, according to his will.¹⁵⁴ This farm included the present "Homeland" east of the Homeland stream; all of the Notre Dame Academy and Convent estate; all of the Albert country-place, "Cedar Lawn" (*q.v.*), lying east of the Convent property, south of Homeland Avenue; most of "Evergreen," and lands lying east of that estate to the York Road. It bounded on the York Road, though not continuously, for over a mile, and on the site of Charles Street Avenue from Homeland Avenue to the Homeland stream.

Entered in the register of Saint Paul's Church, Baltimore County, are the dates of birth of the three children of Thurlo Bryan [or Briant] and his wife, Cicelia, as follows. Benjamin, born 17 Sept., 1721; Mary, born 17 Jan., 1722; and James, born 15 April, 1725, of whom presently.

"Bryant's Chance," 50 acres, was surveyed for Henry Morgan, 22 January, 1742, and patented to him 31 August, 1743. It is described as being situated in Baltimore County, beginning "at two bounded red oaks standing on a hill near a branch called the Schoolhouse branch which descends into Jones Falls."¹⁵⁵ In point of fact, this "branch," as we have already seen, descends into Stony Run, then known as the Great Run. The place of beginning is on the former Crocker property, at the northwest corner of Charles Street Avenue and Cold Spring Lane, now the site of the Charleston Hall Apartments. As we observed above, the soil at that spot is exceedingly thin and poor and, apparently, on that account has been passed by. In the certificate of survey of "Ridgely's Whim" (*q.v.*), which was laid out February 4, 1744, it is

¹⁵⁴ The author is indebted to his friend, the late Edward V. Coonan, one time City Surveyor for Baltimore, for the loan of this plat.

¹⁵⁵ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 832, Baltimore County.

referred to as "Turlo O'Brien's land." This O'Brien, in spite of his Protestant affiliations, was almost certainly an Irishman. Henry Morgan, the patentee, conveyed "Bryant's Chance" to James Bryant, February 2nd, 1751. It is likely that the elder O'Brien, Bryan or Bryant was living on the land in question when Henry Morgan took it up. The date of his death has not been ascertained. His son, James, sold it, under the name of "Bryan's Chance," in 1788, to Abraham Van Bibber, an eminent Baltimore merchant and a man of the best social standing.¹⁵⁶ It thereby became a part of Van Bibber's "Paradise Farm," the site of Paradise Mill. Sixty years later the heirs of Mr. Van Bibber sold part of "Bryan's Chance" and adjacent parts of "Ridgely's Whim," 14½ acres, to David S. Wilson. This was the western part of his estate called "Kernwood" (*q.v.*). In both deeds a plot of half an acre is reserved as the burying ground of the Bryan family. Where is this old graveyard? It is probably somewhere on the Loyola College grounds. The patriarch, Thurlo O'Brien, was, in all probability, buried there. I take it that he was dead by 1750, when Henry Morgan deeded "Bryan's Chance" to his son, James Bryan. The late City Surveyor, Edward V. Coonan, who is mentioned above, told me that Solon Linthicum, whose wife was a Bryan, showed him this graveyard. Mr. Coonan was born in Govanstown.

On October 30, 1756, James Bryan took up "Bryan's Meadows" 98 acres, situated between York Road and "Job's Addition," the old part of "Homeland," mostly, if not entirely, east of the Homeland branch, and forming today the greater part of "Homeland" lying east of that branch.¹⁵⁷ This land is described as "bounded by elder surveys," but a matter of $7\frac{3}{4}$ acres actually lay vacant between it and "Friend's Discovery," and, on Nov. 13, 1800, it was resurveyed and given the name of "Addition to Bryan's Meadows Enlarged."¹⁵⁸ In 1802 Bryan sold to one James Long, for only sixty dollars, a little piece of land, situated at the northeastern corner of "Addition to Bry-

¹⁵⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. B. B., f. 20. The deed from Morgan to Bryant is recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore County in Liber T. R. No. D., at folio 105.

¹⁵⁷ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 883, Baltimore County.

¹⁵⁸ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 74, Baltimore County.

an's Meadows Enlarged," lying at or about what is now the intersection of Homeland Avenue and the York Road.¹⁵⁹ In this deed is mentioned a place called "Cockey's Lane." It would thus appear very likely that long ago a lane branched off from York Road at this spot, going through "Job's Addition" to Thomas Deye Cockey's residence on part of "Ridgely's Whim" (*q.v.*). We must remember that in 1802 Cold Spring Lane did not "exist."

In 1763 James Bryan bought "Wheeler's Lot," 50 acres, of Mason Wheeler. This land lies on the east side of the York Road, a little above Cold Spring Lane.¹⁶⁰ In 1793 he purchased of Robert Gilmore and others, Lot No. 34, 89½ acres.¹⁶¹ This "lot" was part of "Sheredine's Discovery" (*q.v.*), a vast, sprawling tract of land, probably at one time a "barrens," once the property of the Principio Company and confiscated soon after the American Revolution. In 1794 he bought of Darby and William Lux the southern part of "Job's Addition," 75 acres.¹⁶² In 1800 he conveyed to William Buchanan "all his right" to 150 acres, being the upper, or "Homeland," part of "Job's Addition."¹⁶³ What right he had to it does not appear, but it is probable that this deed was intended to settle a boundary dispute. All these lands constituted a single farm of over 300 acres, which would not have amounted to much of an estate in a more remote section of the country; but it was situated in a part of the county which was destined soon to become "suburbanized," and the land is now basic to the title of a considerable portion of one of Baltimore's most important suburban areas.

On January 18, 1809, James Bryan made a deed of gift to his son, Charles Bryan, of Lot. No. 34, containing 89½ acres, part of "Sheredine's Discovery," 75 acres; part of "Job's Addition," bounded on the north by the land of William Buchanan; and part of "Wheeler's Lot," which had been conveyed to him by Wason Wheeler.¹⁶⁴ In his will dated June 18, 1812,

¹⁵⁹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 72, f. 681.

¹⁶⁰ Deeds, Baltimore County, Liber B. No. L, f. 128.

¹⁶¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. K. K. f. 516.

¹⁶² Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. Q. Q. f. 36.

¹⁶³ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 62, f. 271.

¹⁶⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 100, f. 334.

James Bryan devised to his son, Charles, the residue of his real estate in Baltimore County, including all but a small part of "Addition to Bryan's Meadows Resurveyed."¹⁶⁵

According to an obituary notice in a Baltimore newspaper, James Bryan died December 17, 1812, at his residence near Baltimore, in his 87th year. He is described as a native of Baltimore County.¹⁶⁶ Children mentioned in his will were: Nicholas Bryan, Eleanor Merryman, Elizabeth Hopkins, Mary Hopkins, and the aforesaid Charles Bryan.

The will of Charles Bryan was proved, September 6, 1837.¹⁶⁷ He married Harriet Hopkins (Baltimore County marriage license, dated April 11, 1807). By her he had three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth and Jane Cecilia, and a son, James Bryan.

Mary Bryan married Abner Linthicum, of Anne Arundel County, and died at Govanstown, January 7, 1892, in her 85th year.

Elizabeth Bryan married Wesley Constable.

Jane Cecilia Bryan married William Broadbent, Baltimore merchant whose place of business, on Baltimore Street was much frequented and well known in its day. He was the son of the Rev. Stephen Broadbent, a native of Halifax, England, and a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, born about 1767; died March 9, 1849, in his 71st year,¹⁶⁸ and is buried in Greenmount Cemetery. William Broadbent and Jane Cecilia Bryan were married January 16, 1842.¹⁶⁹ She was his second wife.

James Bryan is not mentioned in this author's abstract of his father's will. On February 8, 1850, his mother, Harriet Bryan, widow, made over to him the farm on which they were then residing, containing fifty acres.¹⁷⁰ This farm was bounded on the east by the York Road, and on the north, approximately, by the site of Homeland Avenue. The widow Bryan resided

¹⁶⁵ Baltimore County Wills, Liber 9, f. 287.

¹⁶⁶ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society, Heyward File, from the *Baltimore American*.

¹⁶⁷ Baltimore County, Wills, Liber 16, f. 340.

¹⁶⁸ Tombstone in Bryan lot, Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

¹⁶⁹ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society. Cecilia Bryan, Charles Bryan's youngest daughter, died March 25, 1870, in her 56th year.

¹⁷⁰ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A. W. B No. 428, f. 131. The same day James Bryan leased this land to his mother.

on this land, in a house which stood on the north side of Notre Dame Lane.¹⁷¹ The Albert country-place called Cedar Lawn (*q.v.*) was part of this property. It has been suggested that the Albert "Mansion" was the old Bryan house, made over to suit more modern taste.¹⁷²

The author has a copy of an old plat (c. 1838) of the farm of Charles Bryan as subdivided among his widow and his three daughters.¹⁷³

Mrs. Harriet Bryan's will was proved August 7, 1866, and it seems likely that she died earlier that year.¹⁷⁴

Title to the land now owned and occupied by Notre Dame Convent and College may be traced to the Bryans. This land is part of "Job's Addition." The first parcel purchased by this institution was a tract of something over 33 acres. On August 19, 1847, Mary Linthicum, aforesaid, sold this land to the Rev. James Joseph Dolan, who, on November 9, 1850, made it over to the Trustees of the Orphans' Home.¹⁷⁵ The Trustees of the Home, together with Mary Taylor and Father Dolan, conveyed the property, at the price of \$600 per acre, September 7, 1858, to David M. Perine and the Messrs. Schoemacher and Reynolds.¹⁷⁶ This deed calls for "the church lot," a road to be laid out 20 perches wide (the future Homeland Avenue), and Charles Street Avenue. Tradition has it that the reason why Mr. Perine wanted to acquire this property was that a cemetery company was bargaining for it, a doleful prospect which displeased him.

On April 19, 1871, Messrs. Perine, Schoemacher and Reynolds sold this property to the School Sisters of Notre Dame.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Sidney's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1850, shows the residence of "Mrs. Brien" on the north side of this lane. Mrs. Bryan got about 150 acres as her share of her husband's estate, about 75 acres part of which is now part of Homeland.

¹⁷² I owe this suggestion to Miss Martha C. Bokel, whose family has resided in this immediate neighborhood for three generations.

¹⁷³ This original plat is not dated. It belonged to the late Edward V. Coonan.

¹⁷⁴ Wills, Towson, Maryland, Liber 3, f. 142. The testatrix mentions her grandson, Charles Henry Bryan and granddaughters, Anne Constable and Harriet Jennette Constable. Robert Taylor's Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857, shows the residences of Mrs. Linthicum (Mary Bryan) and that of Mrs. Constable (Elizabeth Bryan) on the York Road, near the entrance to Notre Dame Lane.

¹⁷⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.W.B. No. 445, f. 337.

¹⁷⁶ Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 23, f. 98.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber 70, f. 167.

The late J. Paul Baker told the author that he remembered the Notre Dame property when it was all in woods.

MONTROSS

On December 13, 1848, Mary Linthicum, of Baltimore County, widow, leased to Benjamin W. Woods, on a ninety-nine year basis, a tract of land, containing fifty-three acres, which had been assigned to her by indenture dated September 7, 1838, as her share of the real estate of her father, Charles Bryan. This tract of land was bounded on the east by the York Road and on the west by the given line of "Job's Addition." On the north it was divided by a straight line from land assigned to her mother, Mrs. Bryan, as her share of Charles Bryan's real estate.¹⁷⁸ Dr. Woods, who died in 1883, was in his day a well known physician.¹⁷⁹ For many years he lived in a brick house situated on a small piece of land at the southwestern corner of the York Road and Notre Dame Lane. Here, during the Civil War, he set up a private hospital for Union soldiers.¹⁸⁰ The land was part of the property he leased of Mrs. Linthicum, in 1848, as noted above. The house is still standing. In 1866 he purchased the land outright of Mrs. Linthicum. In 1885 it became the property of Mr. Patrick Gallagher, already a resident of Govanstown, whose granddaughters, the Misses Bokel still own it.¹⁸¹

On November 7, 1854, Dr. Woods leased to James Malcom, of Baltimore, for "an unexpired term of years," some nineteen acres of the property leased to him by Mrs. Linthicum, clear of Charles Street Avenue, which was extended through this property that same year.¹⁸² On August 10, 1859, Mr. Mal-

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber T. K. No. 406, f. 512; Liber T. K. No. 282, f. 148.

¹⁷⁹ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁰ This interesting information was given to me by Miss Martha C. Bokel, one of the three Bokel sisters who own "Pleasant Plains," daughters of the late Joseph Anton Bokel and Helen Theresa Gallagher, his wife, daughter of Patrick Gallagher, a native of Ireland.

¹⁸¹ Deed, Adam H. Nelker to Patrick Gallagher, 9 June, 1885, part of a tract of land which was conveyed to the late Benjamin W. Woods by Mary Linthicum, May 18, 1866. Mr. Gallagher was already in possession of adjacent property, which he had acquired by deed from Rachel N. Vaughen, Nov. 8, 1873. (deeds in the possession of the Misses Bokel.) This property bounded on the York road a distance of 496 feet and on "The road to the Church" (Notre Dame Lane), 298 feet.

¹⁸² Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 10, f. 32.

com leased an additional piece of land of Dr. Woods, bounded on the north by the Orphans' Home property and on the west by Charles Street Avenue.¹⁸³ These two parcels of land, taken together, compose the estate known as "Montrose," which contained about twenty-three acres. Use of the spring was included in the first purchase.

On May 12, 1866, Dr. Woods conveyed to Lewis Turner all that remained of the land sold to him by Mrs. Mary Linthicum.¹⁸⁴

The Montrose mansion, built by James Malcom, is standing today on the grounds of Notre Dame College, a short distance to the northeast of "Evergreen," the John W. Garrett mansion. It is not less than a hundred years old. Mr. Malcom died there, May 10, 1864.¹⁸⁵ He was a distinguished lawyer, the son of Peter and Janet (Bell) Malcom.¹⁸⁶

"Montrose" was offered for sale in the Baltimore *American* of April 19, 1865. The property is described as situated three miles from Baltimore. The improvements on the property were said to include "a substantial, modern two story and a half Double Brick Dwelling embracing an elegant library, Drawing Room and Dining Room in the first floor."

On May 31, 1866, Rachel C. Malcom and William Crighton, administrators of James Malcom, late of Baltimore County, deceased, conveyed to Thomas F. Troxell, of the City of Baltimore, the Montrose estate, for a consideration of \$22,534.50.¹⁸⁷ Mr. Troxall died at "Montrose," December 10, 1871.¹⁸⁸ His executors, Naomi E. Troxall and Wilson R. Troxall, sold the place to the School Sisters of Notre Dame for \$25,584.50, subject to a yearly rent of \$476.25 (i.e., to Dr. Benjamin W. Woods).¹⁸⁹

(To be Continued)

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, Towson, Md., Liber, 26, f. 429.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Towson, Md., Liber 48, f. 524.

¹⁸⁵ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁶ *Spencer's Genealogical and Memorial Encyclopedia*, II, p. 403.

¹⁸⁷ Balto. Co. L. R., Towson, Md., Liber 49, f. 102.

¹⁸⁸ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹⁸⁹ Balto. Co. L. R., Liber 81, f. 378.

SIDELIGHTS

PREDICTIONS OF A CIVIL WAR: 1832

By WILLIAM S. WILSON

General Israel D. Maulsby, who was born in Harford County in 1781, was remembered after his death in 1839 as an "eloquent and ingenious lawyer," and as "a large, fine looking, genial, and polished gentleman of the old school."¹ He had fought at the Battle of North Point, and served in the Maryland legislature for twenty-nine years. While a legislator, he wrote to his Senator, General Sam Smith, the letter of a veteran soldier, a Southern unionist, and a scholar of the old school. Just as the painters of his day posed statesmen in classical stances, General Maulsby poses the problems confronting statesmen in terms of classical history, and foresees a Civil War.

Belle Air

12 Mar 1832.

My Dear General:

I have been favored by your kind attention with your two speeches on Mr. Clays resolution in relation to the Tariff² (one a reply to Mr. Clay's rude and ungentlemanly attack upon you personally)³ and also with the speeches of Messrs. Grundy and Hill and of General Hayne on the same subject, and have read them

¹ Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), II, p. 753.

² On Monday, January 9, 1832, Clay introduced a resolution "That the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines and silks, and that they ought to be reduced," *Record of Congressional Debates* for January 9, 1832.

³ Clay accused Senator Smith of establishing an obstructionist committee on Roads and Canals, and of changing his opinion on the tariff: "The honorable gentleman was in favor of protecting manufactures; but he had turned—I need not use the word—he has abandoned manufactures. Thus

'Old politicians chew on wisdom past
And totter on in business to the last.'

Smith replied, "Totter, sir I totter. Though some twenty years older than the gentleman, I can yet stand firm, and am yet able to correct his errors." *Record of Congressional Debates*, Monday, February 6, 1832.

all with great attention. It seems to me your idea of the advantages to the County arising from the reduction or repeal of the duties on the raw materials of the important articles of iron, wool, hemp & others, and all duties on dye stuffs, and so to modify the tariff as to cheapen all articles necessary to the working man thereby lessening the expense or cost of manufacture and enabling a fair competition with foreign fabric without the *bounty* protection, is most obvious.

But if it was not so, are the liberties & is the peace of this nation to be jeopardized to fasten and preserve a mere scheme of policy? Certainly not. *It is very clear*, a portion of this nation (and a most respectable & gallant portion of it too) will *no longer* submit to what they consider tyranny and oppression. They have petitioned, they have besought, they have reasoned, and they have at length protested agst. his unequal taxation. They have been answered by gibes and ridicule. Their statements of poverty and deterioration have been rebutted by men living thousands of miles from them, who profess to know their situation better than they do themselves, and an inexorable tone is replied to their complaints. What then is to follow? *It really seems to me, that there are men, who wish to see a Civil War.* And I am sorry to believe the southern feeling will be thrown into combustion by the late decision of the Supreme Court. I have read the southern speeches with attention, and have seen many extracts from their papers, if Congress by its decision on the subject growing out of Mr. Clays resolution, *clinch the nail of the tariff*, force will be resorted to, and our gallant & excellent President, can by no influence short of force (and perhaps not even by force) restore peace to our distracted country.

What reason have we to hope it will not be so? Is not the nature of man the same now, it was Eighteen Hundred years ago? Greece was a confederacy of republics, & less potent and durable causes than interest and power on the one hand, and a consciousness of oppression & determination of resistance on the other have frequently lighted the torch of civil discord and made the blood of kindred nations flow in torrents. Rome with her colonies, and allies, was a confederated republic and yet when was the Temple of Janus closed, and why should we suppose ourselves exempt from the baleful consequences of wild ambition mingled and fermented with all the angry passions of our nature? The hope is delusion, nor is there anything peculiar in the frame of our government to avert or controul such disastrous consequences. Our government rests upon the *public will*, and is more remarkable for the *liberty* it reserves to individual man, than for its *energy*. Where a majority will oppress, a minority must always be formidable and will constantly grow in strength.

Pardon this bold reasoning upon this most of all interesting topic. But our political firmament is so lowering and overcast, that I really feel deeply upon it. I have thoroughly examined myself, the result is this. I once volunteered and met and fought the British, under your command in the defence of Baltimore; *I would not do so under any circumstances agst my fellow citizens of the south*; you will find thousands in the middle and northern states with the same sentiments & determination.

We hold a meeting here on Friday next to appoint conferrees with Cecil & Kent in order to select a delegate to the May Convention in Baltimore to nominate a Vice President. I shall try to have Mr. Scott appointed the delegate. We shall seize the occasion to express our confidence in General Jackson and shall not fail to render to yourself that tribute of approbation and thanks your able and distinguished conduct in congress have so justly merited.

I am, with distinguished respect,

your friend & servt

(I. D. Mausby)

Genl. S. Smith
U. S. Senate ⁴

⁴The original of this letter belongs to the Hon. William S. Wilson, Jr., of Phoenix, Maryland. The writer's frequent use of dashes has been edited to conform to modern style but spelling and abbreviations have been unaltered.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. REANEY KELLY. Baltimore, The Maryland Historical Society, 1963. ix, 146. \$6.00.

With characteristic thoroughness and attention to detail, Reaney Kelly has traced the progress of the Quaker movement in Anne Arundel County and examined its influence in the early development of the County. It is well known that the original settlers of the County were Puritans who had suffered oppression in Virginia and were attracted to Maryland by the promise of religious freedom. What historians had previously failed to observe was that many of these Puritans, isolated and perhaps discontented with the formalism of Puritan doctrine, were converted to Quakerism, which was emerging as a religious movement in England about the same time the Puritans were arriving in Maryland.

Within a few years after George Fox had founded the Society of Friends, messengers were sent to the New World to publish the truth and gain "convincements," *i. e.*, persuade others to accept the truth. The first messenger to arrive in Maryland was Elizabeth Harris, who came to Anne Arundel County (then called Providence) about 1656. In the course of several visits, she and other messengers "convinced" many of the most prominent residents of the County, including members of the county and provincial governments. In summarizing this activity, Mr. Kelly concludes "that of Lord Baltimore's governing officials of the county between 1650 and 1654 and the Puritan representatives who controlled most of the Province from 1654 to 1658, a total of eleven became Friends."

What was even more remarkable, as Mr. Kelly points out, was that Elizabeth Harris and her fellow Quakers were allowed to pursue their religious beliefs and proselytize among the inhabitants of Maryland with little or no hindrance from the governing authorities, although the refusal of Quakers to swear to an oath caused some difficulty until special laws were passed to relieve them of this requirement.

By way of contrast, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who are generally credited by historians as being the first Friends to arrive in America, were taken into custody immediately upon their arrival in the harbor of Boston. Their effects were searched, their books burned and, after five weeks in prison where they were held

incommunicado, they were shipped back to England. Other Friends who followed them were treated even more harshly and at least one was hanged.

The early records of the Quaker meetings have been remarkably well preserved and Mr. Kelly has used them freely in tracing the history of the several meetings organized in Anne Arundel County. Although informal private and public meetings had been held in various places since 1656, the first General Meeting was called by John Burnyeat at West River in April 1672. George Fox was present and participated in organizing the first Yearly Meeting in Maryland. Later that year, Fox opened a General Meeting at Tred Avon Creek, thus originating what is now known as the Third Haven Meeting at Easton.

Strangely enough, the early impetus attained by the Quaker movement in Anne Arundel County did not last long and signs of decline began to manifest themselves early in the eighteenth century. In analyzing the factors contributing to the decline, Mr. Kelly mentions the establishment of the Church of England, the conflicting views on slavery and the emigration of Quakers, particularly the younger generations, from the County. Today, there is not a single meeting in Anne Arundel; the only vestige remaining being the Old Quaker Burying Ground.

Genealogists interested in the early families of Anne Arundel County will find much useful information here. In fact, if there is any weakness in this work, it lies in the fact that occasionally the genealogical detail furnished in identifying an individual distracts the reader's attention and makes it difficult to follow the author's main thought.

The volume ends with a series of sketches describing houses built during the colonial period by Quakers, as follows: "Cedar Park," "Larkins Hills," "Whites Hall," "Tulip Hill," "Holly Hill" and "Sudley." Photographs of these houses are included among the illustrations.

All in all, Mr. Kelly has made a very important contribution to our knowledge of the early history of Anne Arundel County. Moreover, the information he has presented is thoroughly documented and may serve as a basis for further studies on the influence of the Quakers, not only in Anne Arundel, but in other counties as well. Finally, although his brief biographical sketch of the hitherto unknown Elizabeth Harris is admittedly incomplete, Mr. Kelly has presented us with sufficient data about her to indicate that this remarkable woman may well have rivalled, or even surpassed, Margaret Brent as a force and influence in Maryland history.

GUST SKORDAS

Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History. By IVOR NOËL HUME. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963. xxix, 317. \$7.95.

Archaeological investigations at numerous sites of early European settlement in the New World have in recent years provided abundant new evidence on Colonial life and times, supplementing that from other primary sources preserved in books and documents, old buildings and their furnishings fortunately surviving, and personal possessions long cherished. Yet these investigations are perhaps less widely known than are certain of their by-products, in restorations, reconstructions, and historical exhibits.

In no other sphere of settlement by colonists along the Atlantic Coast, perhaps, have these new studies been more fruitful than within that vast realm once claimed for Elizabeth I, particularly within the state whose very name evokes memories of the Virgin Queen. Place-names such as Roanoke, Jamestown, and Williamsburg have taken on a fresh and lively meaning in our time, in part because of noteworthy excavations and correlated researches at these and other sites. Beyond adding to previous knowledge, through the recovery of much informative and revealing evidence, long hidden and forgotten, efforts in this direction have in certain instances substantially altered and even corrected knowledge of the physical surroundings and conditions of life in the Colonies.

Here Lies Virginia, by the chief archaeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, presents some of the most significant and striking of these recent investigations, centering attention on excavations conducted by the author and by his colleagues elsewhere and on the essential collateral studies. Reasons are advanced why such work has been done, and why it should be extended to other sites also, at which archaeology may also serve as a handmaiden to history. For each of the topics and particular sites treated in his account, Hume's volume affords fresh and vivid reviews of the differing but related studies, through skilful selection and organization of his materials, a fluent and sensitive text, and the use of apt illustrations of superior quality, all brought within the covers of an attractive and well-made book.

The volume is a pioneering effort to survey and to assess progress of knowledge in a field of history having lasting significance for Americans, since comparable surveys of purposes, methods, and the varied results of such efforts at Colonial sites have been lacking. Hume's work, thus answering an obvious need, provides matter not to be found elsewhere in print so conveniently, together with some

that is probably little known except among those who have labored in this historical vineyard. Not a book of detailed analyses or of comprehensive syntheses, and not intended for use as a textbook, it is rather a timely tract, proportions ample enough to do justice to its topic, while designed to attract further talent to it and to arouse still wider interest than has yet been manifested. For those readers who wish more detailed information on individual sites and matters reviewed, a carefully selected set of references for further study is included—one of the first such finding lists for the newer literature of the subject.

Hume has succeeded in his effort to appeal and to inform at once, by his use of striking and significant materials, textual as well as pictorial. The book reveals the broader and deeper understanding to be had, in fortunate instances, of the physical realities of Colonial life and history from sustained and imaginative researches, both indoors and out. It is to be hoped that the volume will be widely known and read, clearly exposing, as it does, the abiding interest of its very human subject matter.

G. HUBERT SMITH

*Smithsonian Institution
Lincoln, Nebraska*

Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College. By LOUIS LEONARD TUCKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.) xv, 283. \$6.

For good or ill, two precedents for American higher education were set at eighteenth century Yale College: the self-perpetuating single board of control and the strong presidency. Thomas Clap, a Harvard graduate, was responsible for both. After only five years as rector, Clap, by his new charter of 1745, changed his relatively weak office into the powerful one of president. For the next twenty-one years Yale was *his* institution. High-handed, petulant, and dogmatic, this thorough Calvinist with a "bullying personality" fought Arminians and Anglicans to keep Yale pure for Old Light then New Light Congregationalism. While he presided over the physical expansion of the College and in many ways proved himself a sagacious administrator, Clap was a Newtonian scientist especially interested in observational astronomy. The author holds that the "dualism"

in Clap's mind of scientific "relativism" and theological absolutism led him to tolerate the views of scientists who differed with him in matters of religious faith. This fits nicely with the standard account in intellectual history courses of eighteenth century scientists who interpreted their findings as "God's handiwork" or who thought of God as the "neutral spectator" of His Newtonian universe. The trouble is that there were varying degrees of Calvinism and various shadings of scientific relativism. Rarely were they kept in perfect balance. Attributing a harmonious dualism of science and religion to Clap's intellect tends to make his a bland Calvinism when in fact he was always "strenuous for Orthodoxy." And it saps the strength from the intellectual daring and toleration and faith of a man like Ezra Stiles, the later Yale president who epitomizes the Enlightenment in American academic life and who was a far "gentler" Puritan than Thomas Clap. Nevertheless Dr. Tucker has done well by a man who left no treasure of personal manuscripts for historians. His biography is sympathetic for the rôle of Clap in his society yet critical of the man's personal faults. It clearly traces church and state affairs in Connecticut throughout the Great Awakening, and it contains one of the best accounts we have of undergraduate life in a colonial college.

WILSON SMITH

The Johns Hopkins University

Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. xiv, 354. \$7.50.

Following the lead of his recent presidential address to the American Historical Association, the author has himself helped meet the great need for a better understanding of American religious history. Limiting his scope chronologically, he seizes upon a most revealing social and intellectual experience of early America. Arthur L. Cross's study of the Anglican drive for American bishops established the broad historical significance of this episode. The present study uses the movement to penetrate an era of intellectual tension which was deeply a part of the provocation to rebellion in 1776. An original contribution is made possible also through extensive use of the records of the Dissenting Deputies in England, private papers of the protagonists, and the colonial press as a barometer of social feeling as well as ideas.

The mitre was conveniently near the sceptre in England but not

so in America. There New England colonial charters freed Congregational and other Dissenters from both and for a long time even kept out High Church Anglicans. By 1700, however, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel addressed itself to the task of remedying this condition. It met with a violent rebuff, even though some Anglicans did eventually find a place of worship and win conformity from a few eminent New Englanders.

Under the leadership of such able men as Ezra Stiles of Yale, intelligent collaboration developed with influential men of like mind in England. Dr. Benjamin Avery and others of the Dissenting Deputies there kept a protective shield against the ulterior thrusts of Churchmen, which was always feared to be directed at ultimate establishment of episcopacy in America in the form found in the mother country. In the open press rather than in the precincts of government councils, the American Dissenters successfully defended their freedom. The famous William Livingston debates in the *Independent Reflector* became a landmark. The Rev. Patrick Alison, the learned Baltimorean, went in the service of the Presbyterian Synod to New England Dissenters in one of several overtures toward a defensive union in the face of an impending episcopacy. The American Revolution ultimately secured the provincial Dissenter society of New England from High Church imposition. Elsewhere other Christian quasi-establishments were greatly modified and republican episcopacy emerged in the American Protestant Episcopal Church.

Mitre and Sceptre must not be taken to imply a study of the Church of England in its American dimension. The focus is still on Dissenter Protestantism. This is perhaps why the treatment of Church partisans leaves something to be desired. *Prima facie* deviousness of men in controversy needs rather detailed examination before stronger characterizations can be attached to an incident of portrayal. This is even more the case when complex adjustment of public policy with a growing regard for personal freedom is the topic of controversy. There was much liberal thought among American Churchmen. Many leaders on both sides, on the other hand, thought within some construction of quasi-establishment. New England Dissenters were the last to give up such a practice.

The excellent unity of the story probably would have been marred by a comprehensive related account of Maryland, Virginia and other southern colonies. An adequate picture of the Church of England possibly could not even then have been gained. For this a view must be taken from the mitre at the head of the empire; from London outward, rather than from within New England or

the Southern Colonies. Professor Bridenbaugh has opened the way to the task and demonstrated the craft of social and intellectual history with which to accomplish it.

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY

Marquette University

By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War. By BERN ANDERSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962. xiv, 303. \$5.95.

This study of a comparatively neglected field, by a Rear Admiral, U. S. N. (Ret.), and onetime fellow editor with Samuel E. Morison of the *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, will probably attract any "buff" and will certainly instruct any specialist of the Civil War. This is because, presumably for the first time, an attempt is made to assess the strategic value to the Union of its naval arm both here and in Europe. The attempt is comprehensive and detailed, and the result should stand as a useful complement to Richard S. West's *Mr. Lincoln's Navy* (1947). Annotation is kept to a minimum, and bibliography is excluded altogether "inasmuch as this is an interpretation of the significance of the naval aspects of the Civil War rather than a documentary account . . ." (pp. vi-vii). The index is adequate, though far from complete. The double-page map cluster is outstandingly inadequate. Ample, but doubtless not undue, correction is administered to the traditional tendency to overstate the rôle of the ground forces in the great conflict. Although the author's Preface implies that he is offering an estimate of both sides, such is not the case. This is a study from the Federal point of view, with the Confederate Navy barely considered. Of the twenty illustrations only three are allotted to Southern subjects.

Perhaps the following animadversion is irrelevant to Admiral Anderson's purpose—if so, apologies are in order. But it seems to this reviewer that the present work and similar types of military history lose, or deliberately ignore, a unique and vital element in a book designed for a general audience when their authors assume what may be termed the "captain's cabin" or "headquarters tent" point of view. From such a place the commanding officer looks at a map, makes his decision, and issues his order without once having to contemplate the raw edges of a shell hole or the damp bulges of a litter case. In a real-life situation this is as it should be. But in a printed reflection of real life the result is the banishment of the

precious, green detail. Instead of a painting we have a diagram. What we then see is informative: it should be illuminating.

How is it feasible to transmute such subtle and/or tremendous human rencounters as Farragut at Mobile Bay, or Bulloch in England, into a numbing succession of declarative sentences? Read about them in this book, and find out.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Md.

The Amazing Mrs. Bonaparte: A Novel Based on the Life of Betsy Patterson. By HARNETT T. KANE. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1963. 301. \$4.50.

This is pleasant young-adult reading, the story of the pretty Baltimore girl who married Napoleon's brother Jerome. Its book-jacket, which calls her "the woman who tried to be Empress of France," is hardly accurate. Betsy did have hopes, until Napoleon's second marriage produced the King of Rome, that her own son Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte might one day be his heir; the possibility of her husband's succeeding as emperor was pure fantasy. Betsy did not try to be Empress of France; it was hard enough to be recognized merely as Mrs. Bonaparte. Napoleon, when he mentioned her, called her "Miss Patterson."

He ordered Jerome home in disgrace—without Betsy. Jerome went; Betsy went with him; but then the French consul took over. Jerome was sent to join Napoleon in Italy. Betsy found eventual refuge in England, and there her baby was born.

In the course of a long life she never met Jerome again. She saw him once, at a distance (he was King of Westphalia then) accompanied by his second wife. Meantime Betsy, back and forth between Europe and America, consulting with the Bonapartes, quarreling with her father, had never given up her fight. If she never became a queen, she did become a legend in her own time, one of the more formidable American heroines.

Mr. Kane writes, as always, interestingly and plausibly. He has done ample research, and his acknowledgment list reads like a telephone directory—nearly six pages. But he needed one person more, a Marylander who, reading *The Amazing Mrs. Bonaparte* in manuscript, would have caught the slips, like the several "John Carroll of Carrolltons," which set the Marylanders' teeth on edge.

A more careful Doubleday editor, too, would have saved Mr. Kane from remarking that the Duke of Wellington was "like an English fawn."

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Darkest Day: 1814. The Washington-Baltimore Campaign.

By CHARLES G. MULLER. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1963. 232. \$3.95.

The Darkest Day in this case is the day the British burned the capital city of Washington in the course of the War of 1812. Mr. Muller opens his narrative with an outline of the political situation leading up to the war, and follows with the raids in Chesapeake Bay in 1813 which served as a prelude and a warning to the more dramatic amphibious operations the next summer. After describing the fiasco at Bladensburg and the occupation of Washington he turns to the successful defense of Baltimore against the invaders and the courageous behavior of the defenders which compensated in no small measure for the unpardonable mismanagement of our leaders in the capital. He concludes with a summary of the Treaty of Ghent which restored peace on the basis of the *status quo*, and thus emphasized the fact that there was really no need for the war.

The author has added nothing new to the accepted versions of the campaign, though he is perhaps more charitable than other writers have been to the pitiable performance of our army at Bladensburg. Like writers before him he has quoted generously from the colorful accounts of the British subaltern George Robert Gleig, John P. Kennedy who fought with the Maryland Fifth Regiment at Bladensburg, and other contemporaries. Mr. Muller's is a sound, conscientious work which omits none of the details and packs the whole story into the brief space of 232 pages. Five maps, so essential to an understanding of accounts of battles, are included. The volume is one in the Great Battles of History series edited by Hanson W. Baldwin, military correspondent of the New York Times.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

A History of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad. By GEORGE W. HILTON. Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1963. 179. \$5.

The Ma & Pa could well have become a competitor to the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad in the Maryland and Pennsylvania area if the dreams and plans of its predecessor lines had come true. The Baltimore banking firm of Alexander Brown had much to do with the forming of the Ma & Pa by consolidating a number of small narrow gauge and standard gauge railroads to form the standard gauge Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad in 1901.

From its Baltimore terminus at North Avenue and Howard Street to York, Pennsylvania, is a distance of 49 miles, as the crow flies, but the Ma & Pa covered 77 miles to reach its northern terminus at York. It took 4 hours and 10 minutes to cover this distance. This picturesque route included 111 bridges and 476 curves. As the author pointed out, it could have been called "The Route of the Screaming Flanges" as 47% of the track was on a curve.

In its early days, the passenger traffic was quite plentiful. It consisted of travelling salesmen, relatives, shoppers and varied commuter services. Sunday excursions to "Rocks" was quite popular. The milk business was quite profitable and the early morning train to Baltimore was informally called "The Milky Way." Passenger service in the last few years before abandonment in 1954 consisted of commuter service in reverse. The 7.10 A.M. train out of Baltimore carried day workers to farms and homes in the suburban area, north of Towson, who returned to Baltimore on the late afternoon train.

Steam motive power lasted until 1956 when Diesel power took over. The favorite and most popular steam engine was #6, a light 4-4-0 which was scrapped in 1952. The Maryland portion of the road was abandoned in 1958 but the remaining portion in Pennsylvania is still in service.

Professor Hilton's book is well illustrated with 175 photos and will help keep alive the memory of this delightful little railroad for many years to come.

GEORGE F. NIXON

Baltimore, Md.

Shipcarvers of North America. By M. V. BREWINGTON. Barre, Mass., Barre Publishing Company, 1962. 173. \$12.

Since not all ships return, Mr. Brewington feels he cannot have written "a definitive history; the materials are far too widely scat-

tered to permit any one man discovering half of them. But it is hoped the main thread of the story has been accurately traced." It has indeed, and much more. This is an excellent book, well written and well researched, with a good index, bibliography, and list (by states) of American shipcarvers. The notes and references are brief but adequate, and the book as a whole beautifully presented, illuminated by nearly 150 fine photographs and drawings.

Mr. Brewington, formerly Curator of the Navy and presently Assistant Director and Curator of Maritime History at the Peabody Museum of Salem, is an authority on the maritime history of Chesapeake Bay, and this interest is reflected in a large collection now in the Maryland Historical Society. His Maryland research discovers only one Annapolis shipcarver, Henry Crouch "from London," who "lived somewhat obscurely" in Annapolis for less than two years before he died, in 1762; but "who was deem'd by good Judges to be as ingenious an Artist at his Business, as any in the King's Dominions." It is highly possible, of course, that some of the known Annapolis ship-carpenters were capable of carving. From Baltimore Mr. Brewington lists fifteen carvers, their working dates ranging from 1789 to 1868, one from Solomon's and three from Woolford. Of special interest in Maryland, also, is Mr. Brewington's appendix on the frigate *Constitution*, many relics of which remain in the state.

Frigates, packets and clippers have had their day but, as Mr. Brewington says, "As long as romantics go down to the sea under sail there will always be a few figureheads afloat." If their carvers need an illustrated textbook they will find an admirable one here.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Secession Conventions of the South. By RALPH A. WOOSTER.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962. viii, 294. \$6.50.

Using materials hitherto generally neglected, the manuscript returns of the Eighth United States Census (1860), Professor Wooster has gathered much basic information about participants in secession conventions, as well as those in the legislatures of states which considered secession, but did not hold conventions. Investigating the situation in each of the 15 slave states, the author estimates that he examined some 195,000 manuscript pages of Schedule No. 1, Free Inhabitants, searching for information as to the individual's wealth, occupation, place of birth, slave holdings,

etc., in order to make meaningful statistical comparisons between secessionists and cooperationists. This kind of painstaking and scholarly research will be welcomed by future students, and should save them from making unsupported generalizations.

No longer will anyone be able to postulate a "great planter" conspiracy, nor unqualifiedly maintain that elderly, conservative Whigs favored accommodation, while young, hot-blooded Democrats favored secession. It is now clear that these attitudes varied from section to section and from state to state. In comparing Mississippi and Alabama, for example, the author shows that only in the latter was wealth a factor in determining secession viewpoints. Traditional county political patterns often provided a clue to secession feelings, yet Wooster points out that such was not the case in Louisiana, nor was it true when Breckenridge counties showed the weakest southern rights strength in Missouri's convention. A final chapter reaches some tentative over-all conclusions, noting for example that secessionist sentiment was particularly strong in counties containing 62½% or more slave populations, and the opposite was true in counties with less than 12½% slave populations.

The work is the product of fundamental research, illustrated with state convention voting maps and containing 70 statistical charts, which make valuable comparisons between those individuals favoring and those opposing secession. The author has utilized abundant primary and secondary materials; his thoroughness is perhaps best illustrated by the number of Masters' essays he has found to shed light on local activity. Useful annotations are in the footnotes as well as in the bibliographical note preceding a selected bibliography.

Since this is not history in the grand manner, the author generally presents his evidence and allows the reader to reach his own conclusions. The average reader will find it a dull and dreary book, peopled with statistics rather than people, and containing none of the excitement, color, and high drama usually associated with this critical period. The specialist, on the other hand, will stand indebted to Professor Wooster's fortitude.

MARVIN W. KRANZ

Georgetown University

American Strategy in World War II: A Reconsideration. By KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. x, 145. \$4.50.

The traditional view has been that while President Franklin D. Roosevelt made the United States' major political decisions affecting World War II, he left the strategic military decisions to his professional military advisers, that is, to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Two decades later that tradition is challenged and, impressively enough, by the scholar who more truly than any other individual shaped the Army's official 60-odd-volume history, *The U. S. Army in World War II*.

This is Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, for 16 years Chairman of the Johns Hopkins Department of History and, from 1942 on, a distinguished specialist in American military history. From that year to 1958, as the Army's Chief Historian he planned, organized, and administered the Army's great project for a fully documented record of World War II in all its multiple aspects of command and staff, of continuous planning and performance, of combat troops and technical services. To that work he gave unending thought and attention, selecting the historians and the editing staff; watching, encouraging, guiding, conducting the office seminars at which each historian's drafts were critically examined by colleagues and by outside critics, and setting the pace for this monumental library.

It is with that impressive background that Dr. Greenfield (who must be one of very few who literally read and reread every word of the Army histories which poured from the press during those years) now undertakes a reexamination of fact and hitherto accepted tradition. In one of four concise chapters (each chapter based on a recent lecture) he closely examines the major strategic problems, and concludes from the evidence that Mr. Roosevelt himself initiated many of the decisions (military as well as political) and in several instances overrode the judgment of his military advisers—in two cases not wisely but often proving a better judge of requirements than the Joint Chiefs themselves. In the President's considered judgment (endorsing the British Chiefs' position) against a 1943 cross-Channel attack, time proved him right; likewise in his plan for an enormous output of effort for rapid plane construction; likewise in his insistence upon merchant-shipbuilding for Britain even when the Navy was groaning for warships. Dr. Greenfield relentlessly quotes the experts' gloomy prophecies which were not fulfilled. "He liked to play by ear," Dr. Greenfield remarks, in explaining some of the Roosevelt policies; perhaps that is the explanation of Mr. Roosevelt's flexibility of policy, often infuriat-

ing at the time but undeniably effective in coping with unpredictables as they arose.

The other chapters deal with (1) what the author regards as the eight major strategic decisions and the reasoning back of them; (2) the conflicts of British and American policies—the decision frequently supporting a realistic British position, and Mr. Roosevelt personally responsible for it; and (3) the problems created by the new epoch of air power. Altogether a thoughtful and useful book, with some judgments quite different from those which have been generally held.

MARK S. WATSON

Baltimore, Md.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782.* By the MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX. A Revised Translation with Introduction and Notes by HOWARD C. RICE, JR. Chapel Hill; Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 2 vols. xxiv, 688. \$15.
- Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America.* By WILLIAM H. PEASE and JANE H. PEASE. Madison, Wis.: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. ix, 204. \$4.
- Baptismal Records of Apples Church (Lutheran and Reformed) (near Thurmont, Maryland), 1773-1848.* Prepared for publication by ELIZABETH KIEFFER, Hudson, Wisconsin; The Hudson Star-Observer Print, 1963. 90. \$3.25.
- New Discovery From British Archives on The 1765 Tax Stamps for America.* Edited by ADOLPH KOEPEL. Boyertown, Penna.; American Revenue Association, 1962. 27. \$5.
- Queen Anne's County Maryland Marriage Licenses, 1817-1858.* Compiled by RAYMOND B. CLARK and SARA SETH CLARK. Washington, D. C., 1963. 58. \$5.
- Confederate Handguns.* By WILLIAM A. ALBAUGH III, HUGH BENET, JR., and EDWARD N. SIMMONS. Philadelphia; Riling and Lentz, 1963. xix, 250. \$20.
- My First 80 Years.* By CLARENCE POE. Chapel Hill; the University of North Carolina Press, 1963. xvi, 267. \$4.75.
- Prelude To Yorktown: The Southern Campaign of Nathanael Greene, 1750-81.* By M. F. TREACY. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. vi, 261. \$6.
- The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power Party Operations, 1801-1809.* By NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. ix, 318. \$7.50.
- Charles Evans, American Bibliographer.* By EDWARD G. HOLLEY. Urbana, Ill.; University of Illinois Press, 1963. xii, 343. \$7.50.
- The Whirligig of Politics: The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan.* By J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1963. xii, 263. \$5.

- This Was Chesapeake Bay.* By ROBERT H. BURGESS. Cambridge, Md.; Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1963. xi, 210. \$10.
- Old Maryland Families.* By HENRIETTA E. BROMWELL. Reprint. Baltimore. Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1962.
- Henry L. Stimson and Japan, 1931-33.* By ARMIN RAPPAPORT. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1963. viii, 238. \$6.
- The New Democracy in America. Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84.* Translated by JUDSON P. WOOD. Edited by JOHN S. EZELL. Norman, Oklahoma; University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. xxxii, 217. \$4.95.
- The Leaven of Democracy.* Edited with an introduction by CLEMENT EATON. New York; George Braziller, Inc., 1963. xvi, 490. \$8.50.
- The Nation Transformed.* Edited with an introduction by SIGMUND DIAMOND. New York; George Braziller, Inc., 1963. xiv, 528. \$8.50.
- The Southern Frontier.* By JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO. Indianapolis; Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1963. 448. \$6.50.
- Victorian Antiques.* By THELMA SHULL. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963. 421. \$12.75.
- The Everlasting South.* By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS. Baton, Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xv, 103. \$3.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1964 House and Garden Pilgrimage—Following is the schedule for the 27th Annual Tour: May 1, Friday—Green Spring Valley, Baltimore County; May 2, Saturday—Anne Arundel County (no buses); May 3, Sunday—St. Mary's County; May 4, Monday—Historic Landmarks of Baltimore City; May 5, Tuesday—Ruxton, Baltimore County; May 6, Wednesday—Homeland Walking Tour, Suburban Baltimore; May 7, Thursday—Carroll County; May 8, Friday—Harford County; May 9, Saturday—Talbot County (no buses); May 10, Sunday—Queen Anne's County (no buses).

WATER CRUISES FROM BALTIMORE TO OXFORD, EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND: May 16, Saturday—Chesapeake Bay Cruise and Tour of Oxford; May 17, Sunday—Chesapeake Bay Cruise and Tour of Oxford.

The Pilgrimage is sponsored by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Maryland Historical Society, the National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland and the Baltimore Museum of Art. For further information, call or write Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, Room 223 Sheraton Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Maryland. Phone: VE 7-0228.

MRS. FREDERICK W. WAGNER, JR., *Chairman*

New Bremen Excavation—The second season of excavation at the site of the New Bremen Glassmanufactory of John Frederick Amelung, south of Frederick, Md., has been completed. The excavation was organized by The Corning Museum of Glass with the cooperation of Colonial Williamsburg and the Smithsonian Institution.

The Glassmanufactory was established by Amelung in 1784 with the help of a group of German glassmakers whom he brought from Bremen, Germany. Though active for only 10 years it produced the most refined and distinguished glass made in America until the 19th century and its output was particularly notable for the number of elaborately engraved presentation pieces. Until 1962 when the same team carried out the first professional excavation of the site

little was known concerning the extent of Amelung's factory or the nature and size of his furnaces. The encouraging results of the first season which uncovered a fritting furnace of imposing size and of a type hitherto unrecorded in America prompted a continuation of the project.

According to Paul N. Perrot, Director of the Corning Museum of Glass and Administrative Director of the excavation, "the correctness of our estimates concerning the extent and importance of the remains has been more than vindicated. An extremely large structure 112 feet by 65 feet was uncovered. A preliminary study of its plan indicated that it housed at least two glassmaking furnaces and several ancillary structures all closely related in what, for its age, forms an imposing industrial complex."

In addition to the buildings and furnaces a large number of glass samples were uncovered, particularly rich in fragments of pattern molded and ribbed tumblers and flasks of types which have not hitherto been directly linked to Amelung's production, as well as great quantities of remains from simple utilitarian pieces which are quite ordinary in quality.

"With this second excavation we are concluding our work at the Amelung site," stated Mr. Perrot. "Our purpose was to uncover as much new information as possible on one of our most distinguished early industries, and permit a clearer evaluation of Amelung's place in the history of glass. This goal appears to have been reached and we expect in the not too distant future to publish a summary of Mr. Noel Hume's findings in the *Journal of Glass Studies*, a Corning Museum publication. The shed built last year over the first furnace will remain and we may add one or more protective structures this year over our new finds. Should it prove desirable to do further work at a later date we have the gracious permission of the owners to do so. In the meantime we hope that the site will not be molested by souvenir hunters and that all those interested in the preservation of the remains of 18th century industrial American will consider this small corner of Maryland a shrine from which sprang a fine tradition in glassmaking which exerted an important influence on the development of the industry particularly in Western Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh area."

The Council of the Alleghenies, Grantsville, Md.—This organization has recently been formed by present and former residents of the area to preserve the vast almost untapped resources of natural beauty, cultural treasures and rich heritage of the region. The

Council intends to coordinate the efforts of many local organizations within the area in such a way as to cut across state and county lines in effective unified action.

Hagley Museum Fellowships—The University of Delaware, in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two or more Fellowships in April of 1964 for the academic years 1964-1966. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of \$2,000 and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1964. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.

Knight—I want information regarding the parents of Ignatius Knight who married Eliza Twist or Turst in 1817. Their children, born in Baltimore County, Md. were: Lloyd, b. 1818 at Patapsco Falls; Lawrence, who moved to "Alamode" Missouri in later life; Lavinia (m. Wertz) lived in Altoona, Pa.; Lucinda (m. Saylor); and Anna Rebecca, b. 1838 and married first to Brau who lived three days, and then to D. K. Ramey who lived in Altoona.

MRS. LEO MANVILLE

46 Ogden Avenue, White Plains, N. Y. 10605

Posey-Currie-Knott-Clarke—Which son of Walbert Posey (Charles or St. Mary's Co.?) and Margaret Currie married Elizabeth Knott, daughter of Francis Knott and Ellen Clarke about 1785.

NORMA C. POLI

42 Valencia St., St. Augustine, Fla.

Cardinal Gibbons—Loyola College, Baltimore 10, announced a year ago the establishment of the Cardinal Gibbons Memorial as a perpetual monument to the memory of a great Maryland figure. Under the direction of John Q. Feller, the Memorial is collecting letters, photographs, books, and memorabilia of James Cardinal

Gibbons. Any relevant material would be deeply appreciated and should be sent to Mr. Feller at the College, c/o The Cardinal Gibbons Memorial, Baltimore 10, Maryland.

American Association for State and Local History—Awards of Distinction from the Association were conferred October 4th on Christopher C. Crittenden, Director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, and Ernst Posner, of American University, Washington, D. C. The special awards, first to be given by the Association, have been instituted to recognize distinguished service in the field of state and local history. Recipients will be presented with a medallion and citation. In announcing the Awards, the chairman indicated that the special commendations will not necessarily be conferred annually and will be limited to individuals who have rendered long and exceptional service to the state and local history movement.

The Association has awarded its first \$1,000 manuscript prize to Richard Beale Davis, Alumni Distinguished Service Professor of American Literature at the University of Tennessee, for his book, *Intellectual Life In Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830*, which will be published next spring under Association sponsorship, by the University of North Carolina Press. The \$1,000 prize is offered annually under the Association's research and publication program, with competition open to both professional and amateur historians. The award goes to the author of the unpublished, book-length manuscript that, in the opinion of the Association's research and publication committee, makes the most distinguished contribution to United States or Canadian historiography.

Errata—Lines 13-14 of the letter from Frederic Bernal to Lord Russell dated September 23, 1862, and published in the September, 1963 *Magazine* (p. 251), are in error. From the original document the sentence should read: "Mr. Kennely complied, and the tenour of his opinion was that the President should take advantage of the first Federal victory to issue a Proclamation to the South, assuring them that he had not the least intention of attacking their rights, and offering them every guarantee of the same."—Ed.

COVER PICTURE

The Cover Picture is a lithograph published by E. Sachse and Company of Baltimore and also possibly of St. Louis. The scene, after the fashion of Currier and Ives, depicts the bustling life along the Cumberland Road. The exact location or name of the inn are unknown, but evidently the building was a waggoners' inn of which there was one built about every three miles. Archer Butler Hulbert mentions a place called the Sign of the Green Tree (1808) in Washington, Pennsylvania. It was one of the famed resting places for pioneers moving westward and a green tree is prominent in this picture.¹

Not a great deal is known about Edward Sachse. He emigrated from Germany at the age of thirty-six, in 1840, and his name first appears in the *Baltimore Directory* of 1851 at 3 North Liberty Street. By 1860, he was joined by his brother Theodore, and by the time of the publication of the "Inn of the Roadside," the company was working at 5 North Liberty Street. Sachse probably printed hundreds of such works. He is best known for the "Birds Eye View of Baltimore, 1869" and other lithographs: the "Camp of Duryea's Zouaves, of New York, on Federal Hill," (1861), "Fort Federal Hill" (1862) and "The United States Army General Hospital, Patterson Park, Baltimore" (1836). Sachse died in 1873.²

R. W.

¹ Hulbert, *The Old National Road: A Chapter in American Expansion* (Columbus, 1901) p. 106. Thomas B. Seawright, *The Old Pike . . .*, (Uniontown Pa., 1894).

² George R. Brooks to Harold R. Manakee, June 27, 1963; John D. Kilbourne to George R. Brooks, July 30, 1963, Correspondence File, Md. Hist. Soc. The St. Louis lithograph is "St. Louis from Lucas Place" c. 1859. Two others are deposited in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis 12, Mo. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV, opp. 106. Library of Congress, *An Album of American Battle Art* (Washington, 1947), p. 248. James H. Bready, "Edward Sachse's Amazing 1869 Map of Baltimore," *The Sun*, April 3, 1960. Copies of the "Birds Eye View" are in the Peale Museum and the Md. Hist. Soc. Other Sachse prints are in the Cator Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

CONTRIBUTORS

LLOYD M. ABERNETHY is Assistant Professor of History at Beaver College, Glenside, Pennsylvania.

REV. THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY, S. J. is Assistant Professor of History at Marquette University. A student of early Maryland history, he is the author of several articles and reviews in the field and the book, *Their Rights and Liberties* (1959).

SPENCER WILSON and ROBERT G. SCHONFELD are studying for advanced degrees at the University of Maryland. The present article grew out of the seminar of Dr. Aubrey C. Land, Professor of History and chairman of the department at Maryland.

WILLIAM S. WILSON, III is a member of the Department of English, Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.

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